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SOCIAL and POLITICAL AFFAIRS

ROGER PEARSON, *General Editor*

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DETENTE AND CONTAINMENT – THE DANGERS OF SEMANTICS

William E. Brock III
United States Senator

The public debate about the positive and negative elements of detente is currently gaining force. Whereas under the influence of an inflated rhetoric, detente was initially welcomed by a vast body of American public opinion as a progressive development, since it seemed to end an era of cold war confrontations, it now appears that second thoughts are gaining the upper hand. Questions are being raised as to whether the implementation of the new concept is not actually playing into Soviet hands. Some wonder whether American negotiators are not always given the short end of the bargain, while others warn that the Russians, under the umbrella of detente, might be able to achieve the goals which cold war policies have prevented them from attaining.

In America, detente is often seen as an end in itself. By contrast, it has been pointed out that in the USSR it is considered an effective tactical strategy for achieving long-term strategic objectives such as the breakup of the Western alliances, the termination of United States military presence in Europe and worldwide Soviet political, military and economic hegemony. According to this view, the policy of detente actually has facilitated the Soviet military build-up. Russia's naval expansion, SALT I and more recently the Helsinki agreements are usually cited as examples to demonstrate the pitfalls of the new concept.

Scholarly critics, moreover, have been referring to detente as a policy of "strategic drift" promoted by America's "national uncertainty, indecisiveness and self-doubt." They have been stressing fundamental contradictions between the current conduct of American foreign policy and the Secretary of State's earlier doctrines enunciated while he was teaching at Harvard University. As a Professor, Dr. Kissinger once described an American "no-risk" policy vis-a-vis the Kremlin as self-defeating. It has been charged that under the label of detente he is now actually pursuing such a no-risk policy.

In the early days of containment the State Department stressed the revolutionary character of Soviet communism, asserting that Russian rulers sought security only in a patient but deadly struggle for total destruction

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of the rival power, yet never through compact or compromises. Today, Americans find the inhabitants of the Kremlin portrayed as conciliatory and reasonable members of the family of nations. It is hardly surprising then that the validity of the alleged transformation is being questioned. In this connection, Secretary Kissinger's often quoted rejoinder, "What is your alternative to detente?" has not been very helpful. If anything, it tended to obfuscate the fundamental issues. The public debate has so far remained inconclusive; accordingly, a brief review of four decades of American-Soviet relations might provide some helpful guideposts.

The United States was one of the last industrial powers of the West to recognize the Communist government of Russia. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who regarded the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries as counter-productive, hastened to correct this state of affairs after taking office. He was encouraged by William C. Bullitt who, as Woodrow Wilson's emissary, had visited Russia in 1919 in an attempt to reach a modus vivendi with Lenin's government. Although unsuccessful in this regard, Bullitt was greatly impressed by the dynamic personalities of Russia's revolutionary leaders and from then on constantly pressured for recognition of the new regime. The resulting Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement of 1933 entailed a Soviet acknowledgement of the Czarist debts, provisions against communist propaganda and pledges to assure the freedom of religious worship for Americans living in the Soviet Union.

It became William Bullitt's task as America's first ambassador to the Soviet Union to follow the implementation of the agreement. To his dismay, he soon learned, however, that only the last mentioned provision was duly observed. Contrary to the spirit of the agreement, the COMINTERN never ceased to work toward one of its ultimate goals, the overthrow of the United States Government. And when Bullitt protested, Litvinov brazenly declared that the COMINTERN was a private organization in no way connected with the Soviet Government. In a similar fashion the carelessly drafted debt agreement was flouted.

Russian non-fulfillment of the principal provisions of the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement could have taught the United States a few important lessons. Unfortunately, though, Soviet talents for utilizing the fine print and for interpreting ambiguities in the text to their own satisfaction were soon forgotten. It took numerous additional demonstrations of Soviet craftiness before American representatives fully grasped the nature of and problems in negotiating with the Kremlin.

William Bullitt soon left Moscow, a thoroughly disillusioned man, and

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many Americans who had regarded the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement as a progressive development shared his feelings. Reports of Stalin's purge trials which reached the West shortly thereafter added to America's apprehensions about the Soviet system. When a few years later Hitler's legions invaded Russia, Senator Harry Truman's public comments probably reflected the views of many Americans. Truman not only expressed satisfaction at the spectacle of the two dictators hacking away at each other, but he also suggested that aid should be given to the exhausted side in order to attain complete annihilation of both systems. His comments were of questionable appropriateness for a U.S. Senator, but they were in line with America's attitude toward the two belligerents at the time. Stalin's purges, Hitler's racial persecutions, the involvement of both in the Spanish Civil War and finally the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact had been effective in eliminating most of the sympathies held for either of the two systems among the American people. As one would expect, Soviet propagandists promptly seized on the occasion and recited Truman's remarks whenever the wickedness of the United States had to be shown.

Pearl Harbor ended this situation overnight. Willy-nilly, the United States found itself suddenly in the same camp with the Soviet Union. Moreover, the spirit of self-preservation obliged the United States to make the best of the resulting configuration of forces. To any objective observer in 1942 it was clear that the Axis powers could only be defeated by the combined and uninterrupted efforts of the newly formed East-West Alliance. A defection of Soviet Russia, i.e. a separate Soviet-German peace settlement, would have required an extraordinary war effort on our part and probably been tantamount to an indefinite stalemate. There is evidence that Franklin Roosevelt recognized this danger.

Today we find many historians who are critical of FDR's accommodating policies toward the Kremlin. In particular, the President's lend-lease policies and his "generosity" toward the Soviet Union have frequently come under fire. As I see it, most of this criticism is based on the wisdom of hindsight. Bismarck's Reinsurance Treaties with Imperial Russia, the Rapallo Treaty, the subsequent training of the German Reichswehr on Russian soil and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact demonstrated that the two nations often were able to overcome elements of division and to join forces when this seemed expedient from the standpoint of their respective national interests. Besides, moral inhibitions were not part of the dictators' vocabulary.

Roosevelt's "naive" comments on future American-Soviet cooperation have found many critics, but I often have wondered whether such remarks

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were not, at least in part, offered for public consumption. Our self-interest at that time made it necessary to convince the American people of the essential "goodness" of the Russian ally; by the same token, it was not possible for America's leaders to express publicly any inner fears about the reliability of the Kremlin. Accordingly, there had to be an unrestricted and even lavish flow of lend-lease supplies and an uncompromising demand for unconditional surrender. If Russia still defected, at least the man in the White House would have done his best to prevent such a disastrous course of events. Considering the role of public opinion in the conduct of American Foreign affairs, it therefore seems only natural that an all-out effort was made to secure a nationwide acceptance of wartime cooperation with the Soviet Union. Accordingly, memories of Russia's collectivization, of Stalin's purge-Trials and unfulfilled agreements were "forgotten" and the democratic elements of the Soviet system – whatever could be found – were moved to the foreground. The resulting "war romanticism," as John Foster Dulles later put it, over-idealized the Soviet Government's actions as well as its objectives.

The benevolent image of Russia's rulers promptly began to wane when victory over Hitler came in sight. In case any Western leaders had been carried away by their own wartime propaganda, Yalta should have given them a fore-taste of Soviet postwar posture. Undoubtedly, the configuration of military power played a decisive role in February 1945. In the West, political and military leaders had barely recovered from the shock of a threatening German breakthrough to Liege and Antwerp which would have split apart the American-British forces. In the East, most of Poland was in Russian hands and the Soviet armies were advancing rapidly. Accordingly, Soviet leaders yielded little, especially on the key question of Poland's political future. Moreover, the wording of the Yalta agreement was general enough to permit contradictory interpretations.

Subsequently, when public opinion demanded that "our boys be brought home," and, as a result, the American army in Europe literally disintegrated, the Kremlin was not slow in recognizing the green light: most of the agreements on Eastern Europe were promptly flouted. As Stalin, in an unguarded moment, explained to Harry Hopkins: "The Soviet Union always lived up to its commitments – except in very rare extreme emergencies." History is, of course, full of examples of big or small powers violating international law, but I do not recall any instance when this was done more brazenly.

It took some time to convince the American people of the fact that wartime cooperation had come to an end and that a new phase of American-So-

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viet relations was in the offing. Soviet demonstrations of intractability hastened the process and by the end of 1947 the American public by and large had accepted the new policy of containment. In essence, the concept ought to be seen as an understandable reaction to the widespread public desire for a return to "normalcy," to a general unawareness of Soviet Russia's diplomatic and political methods, and to the United States' lack of political preparedness. The containment concept accordingly entailed a strong emphasis on the need for power and the demonstrated willingness to use it when dealing with the Kremlin. Russian retrograde reactions to the United States' firm posture on Iran and Turkey showed the merits of the new approach.

A less desirable facet of containment on the other hand was the emerging reluctance in Washington to search for settlements to explore the possibilities of a detente and to pursue actively Soviet feelers for compromises. As it seems in retrospect, we may have missed some opportunities to maintain the wartime alliance beyond 1947. Whereas American public opinion by and large accepted the dark image of the men in the Kremlin, a negative aspect of containment, namely, the reluctance to negotiate with Communist rulers, was promptly challenged by Walter Lippman—"For a diplomat to think that rival and unfriendly powers cannot be brought to a settlement is to forget what diplomacy is all about. There would be little for diplomats to do if the world consisted of partners enjoying political intimacy and responding to common appeals."

In sum then, the protagonists of wartime cooperation with Russia as well as the apostles of containment went overboard in their respective efforts to convince a hesitant populace. During the years 1942 - 1943, considerable efforts and "war romanticism" were seen as necessary to create the essential climate for wartime cooperation. Naturally, Soviet performance on the battlefield aided the progress. In a similar vein, as of 1945 all the negative aspects of Soviet Communism have to be stressed to prepare public opinion for the unavoidable confrontations. Again, Soviet expansionist policies and violations of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements expedited American public reaction, fostering an appropriate climate for the beginning of the Cold War.

Today, there is a tendency to identify containment as a policy of risky confrontations. This definition does not follow Webster, nor does it correspond to reality. As to the former, containment is "the policy of attempting to prevent the influence of an opposing nation or political system from spreading". As to the historical past, there were actually more incidents under containment where confrontations were evaded than faced. When General Clay in the early stages of the Berlin Blockade recommended the

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dispatch of an armored convoy, he was promptly over-ruled and the airlift organized instead. Had there still been a sufficient number of American combat-ready divisions in Europe, I believe neither a convoy nor an airlift would have been necessary to secure our access to Berlin – not because they would have been used, but because of Soviet perceptions of U. S. strength. As it turned out the airlift provided a temporary solution to a long-term problem but it also signaled to the Kremlin our reluctance to engage in risky confrontations – a message subsequently confirmed in the course of the uprisings in East Berlin, Poland and Hungary – and on the occasion of the erection of the Berlin Wall. Soviet analysts accordingly were surprised at our energetic reaction to the invasion of South Korea, especially since Secretary Acheson a few months earlier had failed to list Korea as within the defense perimeter of the United States. Their strange, yet not quite illogical, conclusion was that Acheson's speech had been a "ruse" and that the USSR had been "tricked" into the Korean venture.

From today's vantage point, the Cuban missile crisis will be seen as the watershed of the Cold War. While Soviet leaders had some reasons to be surprised at America's strong reaction to the invasion of South Korea, it took the mentality of a political gambler to assume that the Russians might get away with extending their aggressive policies to the borders of this country. The resulting confrontation had not only the short-run result of demonstrating to the world the limits of American patience, but the tense days which the two adversaries spent at the nuclear brink drove home the fact that all possible efforts should be made to avoid future dangerous encounters.

A number of unrelated but equally significant developments followed. The previously rumored rift between the Soviet Union and China came into the open and made it clear that the theory of monolithic communism was only a myth. In the United States a President with a strong anti-communist record and a commitment to extricate the United States from Vietnam took office. And in Russia the Brezhnev-Kosygin team, which for more than five years had been trying to achieve a more balanced and improved pattern of economic growth, was encountering a serious impasse. Its initial efforts to rebuild the Soviet economy in accordance with the much publicized program of the Soviet economist Lieberman apparently had failed because of the emasculating influence of the Soviet bureaucracy.

When surveying the domestic economic scene the politburo had to recognize that although Russia's gross national product was second only to that of the United States and its military program in successful competition with ours, a substantial part of the Soviet economy was still underdeveloped. The

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unbalanced growth of the economy had resulted in near parity with American production in some sectors of heavy industry, but the technical backwardness in consumer goods industries, as well as in agriculture, was very much in evidence. Moreover, and most important, large reserves of minerals, fuels and timber remained unexploited.

Soviet ruling circles therefore faced the difficulty of choosing between continued relative regression, or accepting new methods of economic development, or seeking help from abroad. There are a number of reasons why the second choice was a difficult one for the Soviet leadership to make. Almost since the creation of the Soviet State, the Kremlin had used its labor and capital resources quite extravagantly in order to obtain the fastest possible growth rate. This approach, while highly successful at the beginning, was, of course, facilitated by the huge reserves of manpower which existed in Russia's rural areas. By the middle of the sixties, however, this source of labor supply had been exhausted with the result that the growth rate of the Soviet Union began to fall off. The combination of these circumstances left the Kremlin with the choice of reorganizing the Soviet economy from the bottom up by doing away with firmly entrenched institutional arrangements such as strict party control, central planning, arbitrary pricing, etc. through the introduction of a competitive market or accepting the third option, namely large-scale assistance in the form of capital and technology from the West. The USSR's current emphasis on detente indicates what the decision of the Politburo was.

In other words, there were a number of evolutionary developments in the USSR as well as in the USA which prepared the ground for the establishment of a new American-Soviet relationship. Against the background of the preceding phases of history, the term "detente" was indeed appropriate for the new state of affairs because – literally translated – it simply meant a lessening of tension without any connotation as to the depth or permanency of the process.

As is well known, the Soviet leaders do not have the public relations problems of American administrations. They can switch at a moment's notice from confrontation to detente and back whenever this seems expedient, and have only to remind the Russian people to keep up their guard. Accordingly the influential Soviet journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" defined peaceful coexistence as "a specific international form of class confrontation linked to the people's struggle not only for peace but also for revolutionary transformation of society to a strengthening of the Socialist community and to mass action against imperialism." F. D. Kulakov, a member of the Polit-

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buro declared in 1972 that "peaceful coexistence is the best base for practical solidarity with the revolutionaries of the whole world." And IZVESTIA stressed in 1973 that detente "does not put an end to class struggle on the international arena, as it does not abolish the political and ideological struggle, nor the economic competition between the two systems."

In America, by contrast, in order to maintain the necessary positive climate for political and economic negotiations with the Soviet Union, President Nixon felt obliged to state in June 1974 "we have moved in the last two years from confrontation to coexistence to cooperation." It is not surprising,then, that we find the terms peaceful coexistence, detente,rapprochement and friendship used quite indiscriminately. Detente, however, is not peace; as a French writer recently pointed out, "otherwise it would be called peace." Similar to the days of "war romanticism" the undesirable features of the Soviet system are currently pushed into the background and the appearance of a Solzhenitsyn in the United States is needed to remind the American people that the fundamental features of Soviet communism have not changed.

There can be little doubt that the American-Sino rapprochement further generated Soviet interest in better relations with this country. Accordingly, President Nixon's visit to Peking four years ago actually heralded the beginning of a new era. It is yet too early for a thorough analysis of the new policy, especially since one cannot quantitatively document the confrontations that were avoided nor the crises which failed to occur. A few concrete benchmarks of detente nevertheless stand out: SALT I, the Wheat Deal, and the Helsinki declarations. Regarding the complex details of SALT I, the opinion of experts is about evenly divided as to whose benefits are greater. There seems to be a consensus, however, that both countries benefitted by agreeing to forego territorial defense against offensive missiles. Naturally the treaty did not remove all the dangers in the American-Soviet military relationship, but it demonstrated to both sides that their people remain highly vulnerable to missile attack. As I read it, this in itself should provide a great impetus to continued peaceful negotiations.

The unfortunate wheat deal, on the other hand, has caused an understandable public uproar in this country accompanied by statements that the Soviets are a tricky lot and that we again have been had. I must subscribe to the second part of the comment but prefer to reserve judgement on the first. The General Accounting Office, following a Congressional request, conducted a thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding the wheat deal. It revealed bureaucratic neglect and inefficiency as well as questionable

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business ethics on our side, but offered scant criticism as far as the Soviet Government was concerned.

An examination of the record shows that in this transaction the Soviets held all the trump cards. They knew that their grain harvest would be very poor, they were thoroughly familiar with the market conditions and commercial methods in this country, they knew when and how much American wheat they would have to buy and, most importantly, they had the benefit of a unified command structure. While official negotiations between the two governments in Moscow and in Washington were still underway, Soviet buyers proceeded to sew up the market and when our Department of Agriculture began to realize what was going on, it was too late. Bureaucratic inefficiency moreover permitted the payment of export subsidies at a time when they were not any longer required. Under these circumstances it is difficult for me to find fault with the Russians. I rather think it is about time that we wake up and learn to take care of ourselves.

It clearly would be foolish on our part to allow trade with Russia to follow the vagaries of the market place while on the Soviet side it is firmly controlled by the government. In other words, we cannot deal with a country which has a government monopoly of foreign trade in the same way we are dealing with one which has not. I also might add that it is not clear to me why large and long term government credits are necessary to facilitate exports to the Soviet Union. Are such credits really justified, if one considers the financial expenditures incurred by Russia's extensive arms shipments to the Third World?

Finally, as to the Helsinki resolutions, the Soviet Union has tried for almost 25 years to get this conference underway, and I feel certain that by now the men in the Kremlin must wonder whether the final result justifies their long struggle. Similar to the United Nations' Human Rights resolution, the Helsinki agreement is a moral commitment at best, without any legally binding force. The United States has pledged not to attempt to change the European boundaries by force, a statement which actually only acknowledges the essence of our European policies during the last forty years. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has committed itself to permitting a free flow of information into the Soviet Union, to more liberal emigration policies and to non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The Helsinki agreements are only a few months old but, typically, there have been already a number of incidents causing public complaints about Russian non-compliance. I would not be at all surprised if additional embarrassing incidents for the USSR would follow.

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Finally, it is often overlooked that the Soviets had originally insisted that the conference ought to be an exclusively European affair and that the United States as a Non-European power should not participate. The fact that the United States is a signatory and that the Soviets thereby accepted a permanent U.S. presence at the Soviet borders in Europe reveals the fallacy of the view that Helsinki was a totally Russian triumph. Perhaps it is more realistic to wonder if there are any "winners," or whether in fact there were losers on both sides – most of all the people of Eastern Europe.

It seems to me that a few fundamental conclusions can be drawn from this review of American-Soviet relations: First, Soviet expansionary aims have not changed, and the downfall of economic freedom is still the Kremlin's ultimate goal. Second, the Soviet government respects only an opponent with adequate power and the unquestioned national will to use it. Third, when negotiating with the Russians it is never possible to bank on good will. Our traditional approach to negotiations accordingly must be modified, because as seen from Moscow, there are no good or bad guys on the other side, but only strong or weak opponents. Fourth, every deal with Russia has to stand on its own and no concession should be made for good will's sake.

In sum, then, there are four basic requirements for dealing successfully with the Soviet Union: precision, power, patience and perseverance.

Nothing will be found in these conclusions that was not applicable throughout the last forty years; they remain equally valid today. Whereas the essential features of long term Russian political designs remain unchanged, it would be nevertheless a mistake to overlook those factors which expedited the arrival of a new era and which impose constraints on the unfettered variability of Soviet actions. They include the recognized consequences of atomic warfare, the emergence of China as an anti-Soviet power, and the growing awareness in the Kremlin that not all communist successes are necessarily beneficial for Mother Russia. It seems that the Soviets have begun to realize that the spread of communism does not always serve their national interests, and that the conversion of some large countries to communism may be a mixed blessing.

While these three elements without doubt precipitated Soviet willingness for a better relationship with the United States, I believe that our current public relations efforts to draw a sharp line between containment and detente are misguided. As a ranking State Department official recently remarked, "Detente ought to be seen as a dynamic process of enormous complexity rather than as a simple state of relaxation. It has to be a hardheaded and multifaceted effort to temper antagonism with restraint, confrontation with

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negotiation, and the impulses of power with the incentives of responsibility. At the same time we must always remember that interests will be respected only if it is clear that they can and will be defended. "The Soviet Government in this regard continues to give its people the true facts of life and to stress that the long term aspects of the conflict between the two systems remain unaltered. Consequently, it seems unwise to me not to communicate in a similar mature fashion with our people. I was, therefore, pleased to read President Ford's warning in Helsinki about "empty words and unfulfilled pledges" as well as his recent caveat that "detente is not a license to fish in troubled waters."

In the past, desirous of convincing the American people of the need for containment, we probably missed some worthwhile opportunities for ameliorative actions. Today in the endeavor to persuade Americans that friendship with the Soviet Union is around the corner, we may be promoting an equally undesirable no-risk policy.

In my judgement, Americans would be better served if relations with Russia were shown as a continuum consisting of negotiations interrupted on occasion by confrontations.

Good sense militates against the theory, "the only way to bargain with the Russians is to push them to the wall every time." That is not only extremely dangerous, it simply won't work. On the other hand, forty years of American-Soviet relations should have taught us that it is not possible to carry over some credit from one negotiation to the other. Moreover, it would be calamitous to ignore the incredible strength we possess and to yield simply "for detente's sake."

The United States has the most awesome power ever placed in the hands of one people. It is composed in part by a military capacity for destruction. It is more essentially composed by an economic capacity for production. And it is welded together by our heritage, our values, our spiritual commitment to freedom. If we will accept the fact of this strength, and use it with the maturity and integrity of judgement inherent in those values, these United States will continue to remain the one nation standing between the freedom of mankind and a return to The Dark Ages.

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A NEW POLICY FOR LATIN AMERICA

Jesse Helms
United States Senator

A little over a year or two ago, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went to Mexico City and announced that he would begin a "New Dialogue" with Latin America. For openers he put the Panama Canal on the table and hinted that he would restructure the United States relationship with Cuba if the other Latin American countries could agree on a course of action. After the Mexico City speech he cancelled any further trips to Latin America.

I happened to be in Brazil when he cancelled his trip there last April. Then I went to Argentina when he cancelled his trip there for the third time. The reaction in both countries was publicly polite and cold. In private it was furious.

I was in Argentina the same week that the State Department demoted the top slot in the U.S. Military Mission from a post for a general to a post for a colonel. A mere colonel is now assigned to deal with Argentina's top generals at a time of a crisis of internal security. The night before I arrived a terrorist bomb exploded in a car in front of the British Embassy, brutally killing the guard who had gone to inspect the suspicious vehicle.

Our excellent ambassador in Buenos Aires, Bob Hill, explained to me that the State Department, responding over-enthusiastically to vague strictures laid down by Congress, had arbitrarily cut-off the flow of counter-insurgency equipment to the Argentine government despite the crisis created by the anarchist and Leninist terrorist movements. He also told me that I was the first U.S. Senator who had bothered to go to Argentina in his tenure there – at that time, 19 months.

When I returned to the United States, my colleagues asked me why the United States was experiencing difficulty with our Latin American policy. To me it was plain that we don't have a Latin American policy.

This essay is an attempt to sketch what our Latin American policy should be if it is to win respect, admiration, and, above all, loyalty and friendship.

Surprisingly, the policy I am about to sketch does not involve the

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United States in any surrender, giveaway, or concession, except the surrender of a little attention and the concession of a little time.

Secondly, I should indicate that I will not be talking about one policy, but about policies, in the plural. For there is not one Latin America, but many Latin Americas, each one faced with different domestic problems and different attitudes towards the United States.

Finally, I want to say that acknowledgement of the sovereignty of each nation does not at all diminish our practical need to win the respect of each nation so as to achieve what is in the best interest of our own country. I propose persuasion, not force; firmness instead of compromise; competition as the basis of cooperation. Our continued definition of foreign policy as an effort at cooperation and mutual understanding has blinded us to the real need to have specific objectives readily recognized by all concerned. Conflict need not be destructive, but indeed can be a dynamic stimulus to the development of both sides.

These basic principles aside, what should we look for specifically in Latin America? I say that we should first be friends with our friends. Needless to say, in the international community we are all friends of a sort, even, paradoxically, our worst enemies; but among the Latin American countries there are some that are closer to basic U.S. values than others. Geographically they are the ones farthest away: the so-called ABC countries, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Each is a different country with different problems, but they share the common denominator of wanting to be friends with the United States.

To the ABC group, I would add Uruguay and Paraguay. Like their larger neighbors, they look upon the United States as a natural economic ally. Indeed, the whole lower tier forms a natural grouping that we should cultivate. These five nations together comprise 72.9% of the land mass of the South American continent, and about 78.2% of that continent's GNP. If you look at income on a per capita basis this list includes the highest per capita income producers in the southern continent. Only Venezuela would also be included in the top five in per capita income and to a large extent this is because of earnings from petroleum export.

It is always dangerous for a first time visitor to make generalizations. But in Brazil I saw a level of economic development far beyond anything the average U.S. citizen–and I include myself in that category–realizes. It is of course a large country with many cities as well as thousands of square miles of jungle. Yet in Rio de Janeiro I saw a city with prosperity as evenly distributed as any city in the United States, and where even the barrios, the

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formerly much publicized squatters' shacks that covered the mountains of Rio, have all but disappeared. And in Sao Paulo, the ninth largest urban area in the world, a new building is erected every twenty minutes.

What I saw too was a willingness to let private enterprise work, and to encourage the initiative of the free marketplace. This, I thought, is a country that has not only pulled back from the abyss of socialism, but is a country with which the United States, with our economic system,can work both in partnership and friendly competition.

And in Argentina, despite all of its internal problems, I saw a country blessed with fantastic natural resources and an intelligent and industrious people. Its capital, Buenos Aires, could be a modern European capital, with a high level of industrial development combined with natural beauty. Its agriculture, with top soil ten feet deep in some places, has unlimited possibilities both in range and in amount of production. I talked with agricultural and business leaders and I found that, despite the language barrier, we spoke a common language.

If we look at the other countries in the lower tier we see Chile, which has rescued itself from the moral and economic bankruptcy of Marxism. It is a country that is struggling to end a long history of state intervention in the economic decisions of its citizens, that is actually selling off a glut of business enterprises expropriated by the state, and trying to abolish wage and price controls. But, more important, it is also trying to restore its deep Christian traditions, and rebuild its priorities in favor of the cultivation of the home and the family and spiritual values.

Uruguay is also a country that has pulled back from chaos, with the extermination of the terrorist Tupamaros, but still finds its economy burdened with an extravagant social security and welfare system — a bellwether to which the United States itself should pay attention. Paraguay, although the smallest of the five, has achieved the stability necessary for growth after a period of turmoil by a land reform program based on the farmers' earnings and rejection of expropriation.

Now the fact that I have omitted to mention such countries as Mexico, with a 40-billion dollar economy, or Venezuela with a 12 billion economy is not to indicate that we should adopt a policy of exclusion. It is just that I think that we should adopt a systematic policy of working closely with those Latin American nations whose economic systems are congenial to our way of thinking. We should systematically work to strengthen those countries who are trying to build up a free market base. All over the world, the non-market economies have been growing in size and number as a result of political take-

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overs, many of them encouraged and blessed by U.S. policy or by our failure to adopt a policy.

Indeed, the free enterprise system is the major factor in the growth and distribution of rewards in our own nation. If there is any political concept that the United States has that can be successfully exported, it is the system of encouraging private decision making both by the consumer and by the businessman. If it is handled in such a way so as to maintain competition, allow easy entry into the market, and bring about incentive for capital savings, it is the one way to bring about an equitable distribution of the rewards of labor proportionate to the productive contribution of each person.

In the lower tier of nations we have a group of such nations, geographically contiguous, where such a system is struggling to be born. We should do what we can to encourage it, both in a business sense with appropriate lines of credit and the development of two-way trade and in a political sense with closer cooperation on international political aims and regular consultation on barriers to trade and cooperation.

But, as is well known, our policy, such as it is, is exactly the opposite in practice toward the lower tier of nations. They are continually treated as suspect and beyond the pale of civilized nations. No occasion is lost, either in Congress or in the State Department or our press to put roadblocks in the way of a closer relationship – that is, when these nations are not ignored altogether.

A case in point is the recent announcement by Brazil of plans to build 63 nuclear generating plants in the next 25 years. This met an icy reception in the United States, as though Brazil had announced a plan to build nuclear weapons. It is true that there may be those who are miffed at the spread of nuclear technology, but the fact remains that it is impossible to control the spread of any scientific technology in the long run. In any case, technology is neutral. What too many U.S. citizens fail to realize is that Brazil is already on the verge of becoming a major power, whether we like it or not. It has enjoyed 11 years of stability and economic growth. Modernization of its electrical generation facilities will give Brazil the wherewithal to come into the first rank of nations.

Our future lies with such dynamic countries rather than so-called Third World countries that lie immured in envy and socialism. We should spend our energies working together with those nations who choose to adopt precisely those policies that reasonably will bring about growth and genuine development. It is ironic that the Third World countries who are now demanding that we "share" our wealth by giving it away are turning those demands to-

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wards the United States, where wealth is generated, rather than the Soviet Union, China, India, or other non-market-oriented countries. What we should share is our concept of economic freedom; for if we give away our prosperity without any return, we destroy the dynamic and the incentive that fuels the money machine.

Now some may think that I have been placing too much emphasis on economic cooperation. I also believe in competition. Too often economic cooperation is a euphemism for monopoly cartel arrangements that result in greater cost and less production. Some countries, such as Chile, have already found out that the Andean Pact has brought with it economic controls that are stifling Chile's recovery, and narrowing the market.

Nor do I mean to exclude any countries that have been traditionally friendly toward the U.S., such as Guatemala and Nicaragua. But it does seem to me that we should stop thinking that we have made a survey of Latin American opinion when we consult only Mexico or Panama. Naturally we can and we must work with private groups and institutions promoting free enterprise and working against socialist and communist takeover. But it is ridiculous to bend over backwards to strengthen countries that ritually attack the United States and promote socialism. We need not antagonize anyone, but we ought to spend our energies where we already have a base to build upon.

So let us return to the ABC group, the lower tier. It is no coincidence that all of these countries have struggled with various forms of socialism, fascism, and communism and have managed to throw them off. There are some who, nevertheless, have claimed that one country or the other does not share our democratic values. Yet there are values that are more basic to human dignity than democratic values. Our democratic values are intended to support these more basic values, and in that sense are subsidiary to the more fundamental human rights.

Now when I talk about basic United States values, I am talking about positive values–the worth of the individual, the importance of the family, the right to own and enjoy property, an orientation towards a spiritual outlook, and understanding of tradition. I readily admit that the United States sometimes exhibits some values which I hope are not shared by anyone: a materialistic outlook, a drift towards socialism, moral breakdown, superficial shifts of popular opinion. These values are in effect the opposite of the ones I first mentioned, and I mention them now to indicate that any nation, including our own, has a clash of attitudes and desires, a mixture of values in conflict.

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Human nature always consists of struggle between good and evil. In the end, only a spiritual reawakening can prevent man, or man in society, from being overwhelmed. That is why we should make common cause with men and nations who understand the dimensions of spiritual struggle.

Today all of these countries are still paying the price required for restoring order and basic values. The right to property, for example, is one of the most fundamental of human values. It provides a man with independence, security, and the support of his family. It frees him from dependence upon the state, guarantees his privacy, and his liberty of thought and conscience. Such benefits have been restored, even though some lesser rights–that of a free press, or of democratic processes have been suspended in varying degrees.

As one who is by profession first of all a journalist and a U.S. Senator second, I am acutely aware of the importance of such secondary rights as a free press and of a free ballot in buttressing our fundamental rights in the United States. But at the same time my professional career in both has also made me acutely aware that even these secondary rights have been abused in the United States and have served to undermine the fundamental rights they were intended to support.

When I look at a country to see how much freedom it has, I look first to the ordinary, work-a-day freedom that the average citizen has–his right to property, his freedom to make economic decisions, his ability to worship God. In communist and socialist countries these rights are automatically abridged or eliminated when the state takes charge of its citizens.

Thus a state that throws off communism or socialism or anarchy, already has taken the giant step towards restoring the most important freedoms to its citizens, even if all the secondary freedoms cannot be restored at once.

I do not condone any action that offends the canons of human rights. But we must judge each situation on its own merits, and decide whether or not the more fundamental human rights have been threatened by anarchic exploitation of secondary rights that presuppose a moral and political order.

These are complex questions, and I do not pretend to have solved them in a few brief pages. But I hope to have suggested something positive that can re-establish our relationship with Latin America on an enduring and rewarding basis.

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REGULATORY AGENCIES

Philip M. Crane
Member of U. S. Congress

Prior to the advent of the New Deal in the nineteen thirties, with a number of specific exceptions, the United States pursued a policy of support for the free market based upon a belief that economic freedom and political freedom went hand in hand, as well as the idea that under a system of free enterprise the nation's goods and services would be most widely and most equitably distributed.

Since the advent of the New Deal, Americans have pursued a policy of government intervention in and regulation of the nation's economy. The initial reason for this departure was the hope that such intervention could help us avoid the difficulties which occurred in 1929 with the beginning of the Great Depression.

In every instance, the advocates of intervention and regulation have advanced the view that their policies would best serve the "public" interest. Now, as we face a period of economic decline and are confronted by an economy in which inflation and recession are occurring simultaneously, after a generation of unprecedented intervention and regulation, we are provided a unique opportunity to test the assumptions of the interventionists and regulators.

In an important speech, unusual for a federal official, the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Lewis A. Engman, attacked federal regulatory agencies – specifically including the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission – as protecting the industries they regulate in an unhealthy relationship that raises costs to the consumer unnecessarily and contributes to inflation.

Engman declared that, "Most regulated industries have become federal protectorates, living in a cozy world of cost-plus, safely protected from the ugly specters of competition, efficiency and innovation." To correct these problems, he called for re-examination of "every regulation or regulatory policy that contributes to inflation."

It is no accident that government regulation of the economy produces negative results. Liberal reformers who believed otherwise in the nineteen

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twenties learned a lesson which modern liberals – and their Republican imitators — must now re-learn. Frederic G. Howe, a progressive who had been in the Wilson Administration, wrote in 1925 in his *Confessions Of A Reformer* that he had become distrustful of the government and he now "viewed it as the source of exploitation rather than the remedy for it."

Woodrow Wilson also understood the problems of government control of the economy. In 1912 he declared: "If the government is to tell big businessmen how to run their business, then don't you think that big businessmen have got to get closer to government than they are now?"

The failure of government regulatory agencies is something which, in recent days, has become a reality accepted as true even by the strongest proponents of such bodies.

Consider, for example, the record of the Civil Aeronautics Board. If you are flying between Los Angeles and San Francisco, your plane ticket will cost you $23 if you purchase it in New York (subject to federal control), but only $16.50 in California.

The Los Angeles-San Francisco fare comes out to 4.6 cents a mile compared with 9.9 cents between Boston and Washington, D.C. There is this simple difference: the Los Angeles to San Francisco route is within a single state. An airline such as Pacific Southwest Airlines, which operates only within one state, is not subject to federal regulation.

Interstate airline flying the same route are forced to ask the Civil Aeronautics Board to let them lower their rates in order to compete with the unregulated intrastate airline. The Boston to Washington, D.C. route is part of "interstate commerce." All of the airlines flying it are under federal regulation – and the consumer pays more.

Professors Peter Passell and Leonard Ross of Columbia University write that "economic estimates suggest that, without the Civil Aeronautics Board, you could fly from New York to Los Angeles for $95, from Washington, D.C. to Chicago for $33. Current fares on the two runs are $168 and $52 respectively. In general, it seems clear that without the CAB, air fares could be considerably lower throughout the United States and abroad."

Rather than trust the question of air fares to the market place, declare Professors Passell and Ross, "Congress set up independent regulatory commissions with bipartisan membership and lengthy terms. Together, these 'expert agencies' preside over 10 per cent of the national economy, including interstate railway, truck, barge and ship transportation; communications by telephone, cable, radio, and television; electric and atomic power; banking, the stock market and cattle investment trusts."

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No interstate airline can operate without a certificate from the CAB declaring its "public interest, convenience and necessity." This means that no one can enter the airline business unless the CAB decides that the "public interest" requires it. Interestingly, since it was established in 1938, the CAB has yet to find that the "public interest" would be served by the entry of a single new competitor to the ten major airlines.

Air travel, we often forget, is an inherently cheap commodity. According to statistics compiled by *Aviation Week* magazine, the direct operating costs of a 747 are about one cent per seat mile, or about $25 from New York to Los Angeles. Professor Michael E. Levine, a former CAB staff member, noted that, "The board has . . . operated an imperfect cartel for the benefit of the industry."

What is the answer to high air fares and lack of competition? Professors Passell and Ross state that it is to "Allow free competition. Abolish the board's power to fix minimum prices, and permit any responsible carrier to fly on any domestic route."

In recent testimony before a U.S. Senate subcommittee, Dr. William A. Jordon, a leading critic of air regulation, declared that air fares in the U.S. are 40 to 100 per cent higher than necessary because of the industry's regulation by the Civil Aeronautics Board. He contended that, besides making air travel unnecessarily expensive, regulation by the CAB has sharply cut into airline profits by reducing employe productivity and forcing the airlines to purchase unneeded equipment.

Dr. Jordon, a professor of managerial economics at York University in Toronto, has worked for four airlines over a 27 year period. He based his estimates on a number of detailed comparisons of federally regulated airlines with those operating within Texas and California, which do not come under CAB regulation. The studies also compared the performance of CAB-regulated airlines with those in Canada and with transport planes operated by the Defense Department.

The studies show that short-haul fares probably are between 40 to 70 per cent higher than they could be without CAB regulations, Dr. Jordon said. This means that, without regulation, the New York to Boston or New York to Washington fare would be $15 to $17 rather than the $25.93 and $27.78 that is charged.

For flights of medium distance, Dr. Jordon estimated that existing fares were 75 to 100 per cent higher than they would be without regulation, while transcontinental fares were "around 100 per cent higher than they would be without regulation." He said that the total actual savings to all consumers of

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an end to the CAB's regulatory function would amount to $3.5 billion.

Equally dramatic in its failure to serve the public interest is the record of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Originally established in 1887 to protect customers and rail lines from discriminatory pricing and rate wars, the agency today has more than 2,000 employes in 78 offices across the country. Not only railroads, but interstate trucking and barge-lines have been brought under the agency's jurisdiction. Its stated goal was to end "cut-throat competition" and serve the public. What it has done is end competition entirely and serve the joint interests of the large companies and labor unions.

Looking at the record of the I.C.C., Senator William Proxmire (D-Wisconsin) stated that, "The ICC has become a captive of the transportation industry itself. Instead of regulating transportation to avoid monopoly and increased prices, it has established monopolies, reduced competition, and ordered high and uneconomic rates to cover the costs of inefficient producers."

The example of the ICC's regulation of the trucking industry is clear in illustrating the manner in which the public is seriously harmed by its intervention in what would otherwise be a free market.

The ICC has the power and authority to (1) Dictate which truckers can go into interstate business; (2) Determine what a commercial trucker can and cannot carry; (3) Decide what areas truckers may serve; and (4) Permit the trucking industry to fix its own prices.

Each year, hundreds of companies apply for operating rights and are turned down by the ICC. Robert Gallagher, a New York attorney specializing in transportation matters, notes that, "The ICC has a disturbing tendency to be protective of large carriers."

In an important article, "Highway Robbery–Via the ICC," Mark Frazier, writing in *The Readers Digest*, reports that the application of Checker Transportation and Storage is a case in point. He writes that, "Checker has hauled household goods in South Carolina for 27 years, using licenses owned by a number of giant van lines. Each time the company makes an interstate trip, it must pay an average of ten per cent of the revenues to the big van companies that hold the permits it needs. In August, 1972, Checker asked the ICC for a modest interstate license of its own. A half-dozen nationwide van lines and one regional competitor who already held such permits filed immediate protests. Checker had to spend $5,000 in legal fees to present its case. None of these complainants challenged Checker's service or denied the charge that they shunned the short-haul interstate traffic Checker specialized in. Never-

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theless, the commission, after a wait of 20 months, rejected Checker's application – thus, forcing the line to continue paying virtual kickbacks for the right to haul goods in interstate commerce. . ."

With regard to the ICC's power to determine what a trucker can and cannot carry, we see a situation in which, according to Mr. Frazier, " . . . some truckers are permitted to carry only unexposed film; exposed film must be hauled by somebody else. Other truckers may transport plastic pipe but not metal pipe. Officials at Quaker Oats, starting a new pizza-making plant in Jackson, Tennessee, have had to face problems with certificate-hobbled truckers. Trucks hauling tomato paste to the plant from California are not allowed to carry pizzas back. Trucks bringing pizza crusts from Denver must also return empty."

Mike Parkhurst, a former trucker who now edits the trucking magazine, *Overdrive*, notes that, "It's as if American Airlines could only carry people from east to west, while United took passengers from west to east."

The unfortunate fact is that cargo restrictions serve the trucking industry by creating a need for more trucking activity, and harm the consumer, by dramatically increasing costs. By limiting what one carrier may carry back to his point of origin, the ICC also increased the demand for truck drivers, which is something the Teamsters Union, needless to say, strongly favors. It is only consumers who are harmed by the ICC, which serves the interest of the industry and the workers being regulated, not the "public" interest. It is estimated that regulated truckers today travel empty an estimated 30 per cent of their miles, triple the percentage for unregulated carriers. These figures are spelled out in a 1970 report on the ICC co-authored by Robert Fellmeth and members of the Ralph Nader research staff.

Equally detrimental to the public is the ICC policy of establishing hundreds of thousands of routes, often specifying to the mile where an individual truck may go. Agency rules, for example, require Cedar Rapids Steel Transportation – hauling sixty truckloads a week to Chicago from St. Paul – to 90 miles out of the way, through Clinton, Iowa. Because truckers are often prevented from taking the quickest and most economic route to their destination, the cost to the consumer is increased, as is the use of much-needed energy resources. Conservation groups such as the Sierra Club estimate that tens of millions of gallons of gasoline are wasted each year as a result of ICC regulations.

Finally, the ICC permits the trucking industry to do what no unregulated private industry is permitted by law to do – set its own prices. Interstate rates are established by 148 "rate bureaus," which are regional associations

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of truckers. The rates which the trucking industry sets for itself are put into effect automatically unless an aggrieved party goes to the expense of asking the ICC to intervene. John Snow of the Department of Transportation says of the truckers that, "They are in a situation that almost every industry would like to be in. They can sit down and veto the rates of their competitors."

Any trucker who tries to lower his rates finds that his position is almost impossible. Mr. Frazier reports of the example of the Poole Trucklines of Alabama. "When Poole told customers that it was reducing by 35 per cent its rate on hauling paper products," he writes, "the Southern Motor Carriers Rate Conference protested to the ICC that the action was 'unjust and unreasonable.' The commission agreed, forcing the firm to cancel its reduction."

Since 1970, the ICC has exacted more than $3 million from carriers and their customers through the courts for charging less than rate bureau fees.

It is high time that free enterprise be permitted to work in the trucking industry. Professor Thomas Gale Moore of Stanford University notes that when ICC regulations were removed from frozen vegetables in the 1950s, shipping rates dropped 20 per cent and more. He predicts savings of billions of dollars a year if all rates were to be set by the free market.

Unfortunately, the trucking industry and the Teamsters Union, which has 125 full-time staff members in Washington, D.C., profit by the regulations promulgated by the ICC. The regulators themselves seem to have a good deal to gain by their continued service to the trucking industry as well. Of the 14 comissioners who have left the ICC for new employment since 1958, 12 found jobs representing the industry they once controlled. The Nader report argues that job-switching between the ICC and the trucking industry has become so frequent that "deferred bribes" have become the norm.

It is not only with regard to trucking that the ICC has done serious harm to the interests of the public. Its activities relating to railroads have been equally damaging.

One dramatic example of the manner in which the ICC has caused significant harm by its interventionist policies may be seen by examining the case of the Rock Island Line, which currently is in serious financial difficulty. Its difficulties have been the result not of the failure of free enterprise, but of the refusal of government regulators to permit free enterprise to work.

Aware that it faced an untenable economic situation if it continued to operate on its own, the Rock Island Line petitioned the ICC in 1964 to approve a merger with the Union Pacific. After considering the matter for

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ten long years, through countless hearings and 200,000 pages of transcripts, the ICC finally granted "conditional" approval of the merger. It is estimated that it will take two to four more years to receive final ICC approval.

But, as the Rock Island waited, it encountered the economic failure which it had anticipated. During the past eight years it has lost money, including a record $22 million last year. Now, in a desperate effort to stay alive, the line, which has a 7,500 mile rail system and provides primary hauling for at least 185 companies in the St. Louis area, has asked its 10,000 employes to make voluntary loans to keep its trains running. It has also requested the U.S. Railway Association, the new federal planning organization created by the Railroad Reorganization Act, for a $100 million loan and has been turned down.

Discussing this situation, the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* editorially stated the following: "Think of it. Fifteen years to complete action on a merger of two railroads that shouldn't have taken more than a few months! Compared to the ICC, the three-toed sloth moves like a cheetah. If the ICC had been in existence when the West was being built by the railroads, the West would still be Indian country."

Rep. Brock Adams (Democrat-Washington) recently reviewed the classic case of the Southern Railway System. In 1961 this railroad came up with a new, 100-ton aluminum covered hopper car called Big John, an innovation intended to replace the old 50-ton wooden boxcar whose side doors made it hard to load and whose many cracks and crevices allowed rain and weevils to get in while large amounts of grain spilled out.

The new car developed by Southern conveniently loaded through the top and quickly unloaded by opening bottom hoppers, and was totally sealed from the elements. Its prospects were so good, in fact, that Southern petitioned the ICC for permission to lower its rate for hauling grain by 60 per cent.

The ICC, however, turned the request down, claiming it would be unfair competition for truck and barge lines. It took Southern four years of fighting in the courts – up to the Supreme Court itself – to force the ICC to allow it to exploit the advantages of the new car.

It would be possible to fill pages with examples of the manner in which the ICC has worked against the public interest. In 1973, to cite an additional case in point, the ICC issued an order forbidding railroads to carry more than 20 per cent of the grain, which was then moving in huge amounts to the nation's ports, in highspeed 'unit trains,' which provide the most efficient method of transportation.

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At that time, the ICC's reasoning was that these trains travel only on main lines and this would prevent country grain elevators from having their grain hauled.

When the irrationality of this order was discovered, the National Commission On Productivity asked the ICC if it had studied the possibility of using trucks to get grain from the country elevators to the main lines. The ICC replied that it had not. It said that its job was to protect shippers, not concern itself about the efficiency of the transportation system.

Adding all of this up, the *Globe-Democrat* declared that, "The list of the ICC's blunders could go on and on. Nearly everyone who has looked into its labyrinthian labors agrees that this tired old bungler should be cashiered. The ICC is a costly, paralyzing anachronism – a very heavy load on the transportation industry and the American public. It should be assigned to the scrap heap."

This, of course, is nothing new. According to a study by the Brookings Institution, the economic loss resulting from ICC regulation in 1968 alone ranged from a low of $3.78 billion to a high of $8.79 billion. While it is a story which many have understood for some time, there is now some hope that the flagrant abuses of the ICC, when considered in light of our current economic difficulties, will prove even less acceptable than they were in the past.

The latest annual report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers notes that ICC regulation of the transportation industry allows exemptions from the anti-trust laws, presents serious barriers to entry into the trucking business and promotes costly inefficiences in the railroad freight transportation, all of which are "inconsistent with an efficiently organized transport sector." One result of the present ICC regulations, according to the report: "windfall profits to more efficient truckers and higher prices to consumers." Another: the bankruptcy of numerous rail lines.

In precisely the same way in which the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board limit competition and serve the industries they are meant to regulate, rather than the public, so the Federal Communications Commission tends also to serve the regulated industry rather than the consuming public.

The Communications Act of 1934 which establishes the F.C.C. allows that body to restrict licensing, oversee programming, and strictly regulate pay-television. The regulations enforced by the F.C.C. maintain the monopoly of the major television networks, and prohibit any real competition in this field.

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These restrictions state that (1) No subscription television may exist unless four "free" stations already exist in a given area; (2) Subscription television cannot show series programs (e.g. "All In The Family"), movies which are two to ten years old, or sports which have been on "free" television in the last five years; and (3) Subscription television must show a certain amount of free programming.

The restrictions specifically deny subscription television, whether cable or over-the-air, the chance to compete with "free" television for popular programming. Perhaps even more important, they compromise our First Amendment rights. Freedom of speech and of the press seem not to apply equally to the electronic media and the printed media. In fact, the Department of Justice calls the FCC's jurisdiction over cable television "highly questionable," and states that some of its rules have "no reasonable basis." If changes were made in these arbitrary rules, it is certain that every community in the nation would have more choice with regard to television viewing. The result would be the kind of diversity which a free society should welcome.

Another major area in which added diversity is possible is that of frequency allocation. Under current regulations, the F.C.C. allocates stations on the basis of the Commission's own evaluation of the public interest. The result has been the scattering of stations in an inefficient manner so that only two areas, the Los Angeles and New York metropolitan areas, have six VHF stations while it is technically feasible for *every* community to do so. An entirely different, and more beneficial, result would occur if the free market, not a government agency, could restructure the distribution of frequencies.

There are many ways to correct the problem. One would be to auction all presently available television frequencies to the highest bidder. The industry, through the price system, would be allowed to decide how the frequencies should be distributed. Beyond this, the FCC should relinquish its control over cable television and permit the television industry to operate competitively.

It is clear that many interests would oppose such reforms as these. One of these, of course, is the National Association of Broadcasters, which has waged an expensive campaign against pay-television. So-called "free" television costs consumers $4.1 billion annually in advertising fees. Pay-television will only work if it provides the viewing audience with programming for which it is willing to pay. Obviously, as is the case with the airlines and the trucking industry, the television networks now in existence prefer a government-controlled monopoly to free competition. Again, only the public is the loser.

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To correct the problems inherent in the conduct of the F.C.C., Senator William Brock has proposed an act to "de-regulate" television. Its main features include the following:

1. All remaining stations will be auctioned to the highest bidder over a reasonable period of time. Thus, we will at least use the available supply.
2. Ownership will be complete (no renewal licensing) and only misuse by obscenity, etc. will be grounds for losing one's license.
3. Sale of stations or even portions of a station's frequencies will not be restricted, provided the buyer is technically competent to operate a station.
4. Copyright privileges will be extended to cover television in the same way as written material. The rights may be sold or given to whomever the originator wishes.
5. Cable television will be freed of restrictions other than copyright and obscenity laws.
6. Subscription fees and/or advertising will be allowed for any over-the-air broadcasting.
7. To guard against future unnecessary intervention, the FCC direction to work for "public convenience, interest and necessity" will be interpreted only in the sense of technical quality.

Senator Brock's proposal should receive the serious consideration it deserves. The public interest, by any standard, is being served poorly by the FCC, although the major networks are being served well, since the FCC works to protect their own monopoly standing.

When the current chairman of the FCC, Richard E. Wiley, was asked to identify his major achievements during his year as chairman, he produced a list of 25 items, including final action on a long-standing case dealing with land mobile communications (mobile radios for business firms), conclusion of a four-years study of children's television and creation of task forces to cut down regulation of cable television.

Mr. Wiley conceded that the commission takes too long to decide cases. "People are concerned in this country about regulatory delay," he said. "If you get sent to hearing today, unless you're a rich guy it's almost like losing. It will take years." In fact, the hearing process at the F.C.C. commonly takes from two to six years.

What the federal government has done in this area, beginning with the Radio Act of 1927, is to nationalize the airwaves. In effect, the federal government has taken title to the ownership of all radio and television channels. It then proceeded to grant licenses for use of the channels to various

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privately owned stations. Stations, since they receive the license grants, do not have to pay for the use of airwaves. Thus, the stations receive a significant form of subsidization, something which they, just as the truckers and airlines, seek to maintain. The federal government, as the licensor, asserts the right to regulate the stations in every aspect of their business, including editorial content. Over the head of each station is the threat of nonrenewal or suspension of its license. Freedom of speech on radio and television is, as a result, always questionable.

Contrasting the manner in which television and radio is controlled by the FCC with a similar form of hypothetical control over newspapers, Professor Murray Rothbard, in his important book, *For A New Liberty*, writes the following:

"What would we think, for example, if all newspapers were licensed, the licenses to be renewable by a Federal Press Commission, and with newspapers losing their licenses if they dare express an 'unfair' editorial opinion, or if they don't give full weight to public service announcements? . . . or consider if all book publishers had to be licensed and their licenses were not renewable if their book lists failed to suit a Federal Books Commission? . . . An abstract constitution guaranteeing 'freedom of the press' is meaningless in a socialist society. The point is that where the government owns all the newsprint, the paper, the presses, etc., the government – as owner – must decide how to allocate the newsprint and the paper, and what to print them on. The solution for radio and television? Simple: treat these media precisely the same way the press and book publishers are treated. . . the government should withdraw completely from any role or interference in all media of expression. In short, the federal government should denationalize the airwaves and give or sell the individual channels to private ownership."

If television stations became privately owned and independent, the large networks would no longer be in a position to put pressure upon the FCC to outlaw the competition of pay-television. Discussing the concept of "free television," which is advanced by the networks to defend their own monopoly position, Professor Rothbard points out that "free television" is not really free. He writes that, ". . . the programs are paid for by the advertisers, and the consumer pays by covering the advertising costs in the price of the product he buys . . . The television advertiser, for example, is always interested in (a) gaining the widest possible viewing market; and (b) in gaining those *particular* viewers who will be most susceptible to the message. Hence, the programs will all be geared to the lowest common denominator of the audience, and particularly to those viewers most susceptible to the message;

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that is, those viewers who do not read newspapers or magazines, so that the message will not duplicate the ads he sees there. As a result, free television programs tend to be unimaginative, bland, and uniform. Pay-televison would mean that each program would search for its own market, and many specialized markets for specialized audiences would develop – just as highly lucrative specialized markets have developed in the magazine and book publishing field."

It should be clear to all those who will look objectively at the data that regulatory bodies such as the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Communications Commission serve not the *public* interest, in whose name they were created, but, instead, the very private interests they were intended to regulate – the truckers, the airlines, and the radio and television networks.

Just as government regulation *directly* harms the public in these fields, so a host of other government regulations, imposed by a number of different government agencies, harm the public in other ways – both directly and indirectly.

The fact that government regulations, even in those areas where some possible benefits may be found, cost the taxpayers billions of dollars each year is something which many Americans do not understand.

A study published in February, 1975, *Government Mandated Price Increases* by Professor Murray L. Weidenbaum of Washington University in St. Louis, details many examples of this situation.

Government regulations under the Occupational, Safety and Health Administration, for example, require that any cuspidors on the premises be cleaned daily as well as that a lounge area adjacent to women's toilets in work facilities be provided. Professor Weidenbaum notes that the public is generally unaware that "all government regulatory activities generate costs as well as benefits."

The study, published by the American Enterprise Institute, lists "29 major pieces of regulatory legislation which imposed non-productive costs on business during the period 1962-1973." Dr. Weidenbaum states that, "There has been a shift to more, rather than less, government intervention and, if this reduces innovation and productivity, it's something to be concerned about."

One of the areas dealt with in the study is that of drugs. Regulations imposed by the Food and Drug Administration, according to the study, delay the introduction of effective drugs by approximately four years, leading to higher prices "on the order of $200 to $300 million a year."

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Dr. Weidenbaum declares that, "A second managerial revolution is now under way – a silent bureaucratic revolution, in the course of which the locus of much of the decision making in the American corporation is shifting once again – from the professional management ... to the vast cadre of government regulators."

The price of the typical new 1974 passenger automobile is about $320 higher than it would have been in the absence of federally mandated safety and environmental requirements. The same is true with regard to many other products. Professor Weidenbaum believes that attention should be focused on this route to inflation for two reasons: "(1) The government is constantly embarking on new and expanded programs which raise costs and prices in the private economy and (2) Neither government decision makers nor the public recognize the significance of these inflationary effects. Literally, the federal government is continually mandating more inflation via the regulations it promulgates. These actions of course are validated by an accommodating monetary policy."

Rather than burden the public treasury with the full cost of cleaning up environmental pollution – which would mean a Congressional vote for added expenditure – we now require private firms to devote additional resources to that purpose. Similarly, instead of spending federal funds to eliminate traffic hazards which, again, would require a vote by members of Congress for huge expenditures, we require motorists to purchase vehicles equipped with various safety features that appreciably increase the selling price.

Exactly the same is true with regard to the effect of regulations promulgated by such bodies as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Consumer Safety Commission. Concerning these, Professor Weidenbaum notes that, " . . . every time OSHA imposes a more costly, albeit safer, method of production, the cost of the resultant product will necessarily tend to rise. Every time that the Consumer Safety Commission imposes a standard which is more costly to attain, some product costs will tend to rise. The same holds true for the actions of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration, and so forth."

While many believe that imposing costly regulations upon private business somehow aids the public without costing it anything, this is not the case. The higher prices which are paid by consumers throughout the American economy represents the "hidden tax" which is simply shifted from the taxpayer to the consumer. Dr. Weidenbaum concludes that, "As these government-mandated costs begin to visibly exceed the apparent benefits, it can be hoped that public pressures will mount on governmental regulators to

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moderate the increasingly stringent rules and regulations that they apply. At present, for example, a mislabeled product that is declared an unacceptable hazard often must be destroyed. In the future, the producer or seller perhaps will only be required to relabel it correctly, a far less costly way of achieving the same objective."

In February, 1975, President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers called for substantial reductions of federal regulation in the transportation, natural gas and financial industries.

Concluding that existing controls by such agencies as the Interstate Commerce Commission and Civil Aeronautics Board are "imposing significant costs on the economy," the council advocated the formation of a national commission to study the question of regulatory reform.

"Precise estimates of the total costs of regulation are not available," the council said, "but existing evidence suggests that this may range up to 1 per cent of the Gross National Product, or approximately $66 per person per year."

The President's economic advisors stated that there has been a marked trend in recent years toward more rather than less government intervention in directing the operations of many companies. In the process, federal regulators have tended to protect those firms already in business at the expense of innovation and at increasing cost to consumers. To prevent bankruptcies, the council said, regulatory agencies "are thus prone to protect firms from competition – frequently to the detriment of efficient service."

As an example, the council cited the Civil Aeronautics Board, established in 1938. No major airline has gone bankrupt since then, although several airlines "at the brink of bankruptcy" have merged with stronger lines. Regulation by the CAB, said the council, has resulted in air service that is below optimum standards in both quality and price. With fares regulated in Washington, airlines tend to compete only on a basis of scheduling, over which the CAB has no control. The council declared that, "The result is 'excess capacity,' and efforts to raise the regulated fares in order to assure a return on investment greater than the industry's perceived most of capital serve only to set the stage for further battles over how to fill all the empty seats."

In the current regulatory environment, the Council of Economic Advisers stated, the airlines have not earned windfall profits nor suffered dramatic losses,"but the traveling public has paid higher fares because of the regulation-induced excess capacity," develope at a time when the CAB encouraged more competition on many routes than there was business to support.

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This excess capacity, the council argued, provides more frequent departures, less crowding and a better chance of getting seats on preferred flights, but at a value to the nation's economy "almost surely less than its cost."

In surface transportation, the council criticized the lack of challenges by the Interstate Commerce Commission to truck rates set by cartels that have anti-trust immunity. If the trucking industry could be opened up to new firms with free rate competition, said the council, the result would be lower shipping costs.

Railroads present the opposite problem – a lack of freedom to exit from the business. ICC regulation, the council concluded, has prevented rail firms from dropping unprofitable services that truck competition brought about and "impaired that overall financial position of the railroads."

For financial institutions, Mr. Ford's council said that more competition could be created by allowing thrift institutions, such as savings and loan associations, to issue checking accounts. An even more important reform would be elimination of regulatory agency control over interest rates that banks and savings institutions can pay to attract funds. In the field of natural gas, the council warned that over-regulation by the Federal Power Commission has led to shortages of supply – because the government has tried to control the price of a commodity too rigidly, thereby reducing incentives for industry efforts to find new producing wells.

The call for regulatory reform is now being heard across the country and many individuals and publications who once supported the concept of government regulation of various aspects of our economy are now admitting that such regulation has been a failure.

In an editorial entitled "The Need For Regulatory Review," the *Washington Post*, in its issue of February 10, 1975, notes that, "We suspect that much of this regulation no longer serves the purpose for which it was created and needs to be either eliminated or drastically changed. The ICC, for example, was created in 1887 primarily to protect the public against the monopoly power of the railroads. For a long time now, its primary role has been to protect the railroads against competition from other carriers of freight. . . the ICC may be a classic example of an agency that has outlived its useful life by several decades. As far as we can tell, only it and the industries over which it has jurisdiction defend the way in which surface transportation is now regulated."

The *Post* declares that, "The economic problem of this kind of regulation is staggering. There is a growing body of data that suggests it costs far more – not just to the government but in unnecessarily high prices for

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consumers – than the value of the benefits the regulation brings. The President's economic report says one study puts the costs of government regulation of the surface transportation industry alone at $4 billion to $9 billion a year."

Despite the temporary dislocations which an end to, or radical reform of, government regulatory agencies might entail, the *Washington Post* believes that this is the time to proceed. The *Post* concluded its editorial by stating that, ". . . this seems to us to be the time for Congress to get on with it. If it is true. . . that the hand of government regulation is now a major drag on the economy, and it certainly appears to be true in some areas, ways can be found to ease the transition of business back toward a less regulated situation. To do that, Congress may have to upset some of the theories that have dominated government policies for decades and will have to face up to some of the entrenched special interest groups. But we can think of few greater contributions this Congress could make to a proper celebration of the nation's Bicentennial than a full dress reappraisal of what government is doing in the way of regulating free enterprises and of why it is doing it."

The fact that the *Washington Post* and other liberal publications and legislators have now come to understand the regressive nature of our regulatory agencies, and the manner in which they work against rather than in behalf of the public interest is certainly to be welcomed. Hopefully, they will come to understand that such agencies are not accidentally negative but are inherently so. Unfortunately, some advocates of "regulatory reform" mean by this term not a return to the free market but, instead, the creation of new regulatory agencies to oversee the ones we have at the present time.

Those who advance this viewpoint should remember that government regulations, even before they are actually administered, have a negative effect upon the economy.One impact of federal regulation is what has become known as the "announcement effect."For some time, economists have pointed out the existence of this effect with regard to government spending or taxation. What happens is that potential government contractors may start preparing to bid on a project even before Congress has appropriated funds for it, or consumers may increase their expenditures while a tax cut is still being debated.

The role played by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration provides a case in point. In Illinois, the rumor that OSHA might impose more stringent standards for migrant worker housing caused strawberry farmers to reduce their production. The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* of June 11, 1974, quoted Lester Pitchford, the largest grower in the Centralia area, as

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stating that, "We don't know if OSHA is coming or not, but when it was even rumored, it put strawberry production out."

The basis for the concern in this case was the possibility that farmers would have to provide migrant workers with the same amenities as permanent workers – 100 square feet of living space (the present state standard is 60 square feet), flush toilets and showers in each room. Some Illinois strawberry farmers concluded that the capital investment required could not be justified for a two-week harvest. According to James Mills, an official with the Illinois Department of Public Health, a basic problem is the lack of distinction under OSHA regulations between long-term and short-term migratory farm worker housing. Centralia farmers, he was quoted as saying, "just can't compete and, if OSHA puts the pressure on them, they'll get out of the migrant business completely and go strictly U-Pick," where consumers pick the fruit for their own use for a fee.

The very men and women meant to be helped by OSHA regulations such as this have been the ones most clearly hurt – by losing their jobs. All Americans are hurt by the higher prices they are forced to pay. Now, OSHA has assigned a social scientist to explore the idea of extending occupational health surveillance to management personnel, supposedly to consider psychological stress among executives. *NAM Reports* for July 29, 1974, indicates that the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health has recommended that it test and certify all personal protective equipment, thus excluding competent private laboratories from the testing process. The institute's proposal also calls for an "absolute guarantee" that a product it had tested would not fail in the marketplace.

In the name of environmental control and safety, federally mandated costs average $320 per new automobile. With new car purchases totalling about 9 million for 1974, American motorists paid approximately $3 billion extra for the governmentally imposed requirements. In addition, the added weight and complexity of the mandated features have increased the operating costs of vehicles, particularly the fuel costs. The cost of the new catalytic converters that will be required on 1975 automobiles is estimated at $150 per vehicle. There is, in addition, recent information indicating that the converters are themselves failures, causing more problems than they correct.

It seems clear that government regulation of industry, particularly in the safety area, has been insensitive to the notion of discovering the least costly way of achieving objectives. Professor Roger L. Miller of the University of Washington has described the problem in these terms: "Now they seem to be insisting that Detroit should begin producing what amounts to overly expen-

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sive tanks without giving much thought to some alternatives that are just as effective, while less costly to society. Modification or removal of roadside hazards might eliminate as many as one quarter of all motor vehicle fatalities. Another 10 per cent or so occur when automobiles collide with bridge abutments, or with pier supports or overpasses."

In addition, 60 per cent of drivers in fatal, single car crashes are drunk, as are 50 per cent of the drivers at fault in fatal crashes involving two cars or more. Professor Miller asks the obvious question: "Why should the many who purchase autos end up paying for increased safety in order to prevent fatalities involving the drunken drivers?" He suggests that a far less expensive alternative might be more vigorous legal prosecution of drunken drivers and drunken pedestrians."

Whether we are discussing the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, OSHA, the CAB, the ICC, the FCC, or any of the myriad of other governmental regulatory agencies we find a similar story – regulation in behalf of the public which, in the end, costs the public a great deal of money and does the public a significant amount of harm.

Only when the American people recognize that this is the inevitable result of government regulation will we begin to really solve the problem.

The regulatory agencies which we have at the present time are, in fact, remnants of the philosophy of the Progressive Movement, which dominated the American scene in the years from the turn of the century to U.S. entrance into World War I.

Discussing this movement in his book, *The Bewildered Society*, George Roche III writes that, "The Progressive Movement, which dominated the American scene in the years from the turn of the century to United States entrance into World War I, was not primarily a liberal movement . . . in contrast to former American efforts at reform, progressivism was based on a new philosophy, partly borrowed from Europe, which emphasized collective action through the instrumentality of the government."

Dr. Roche states that, "The new political theory of the Progressives borrowed most heavily from bureaucratic thought. The ideal was to achieve a professional staff of government workers who presided over the operations of society in an essentially non-partisan manner. The old distinction separating executive, legislative and judicial functions were now to be set aside in favor of 'the public man,' the leader who could take charge of a modern, highly specialized government. Constitutional interferences which stood in the way of this public man were regarded as anachronisms from a previous

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and less enlightened age."

What the Progressives seemed not to properly understand was that the more they used political authority to defend or restore individual values, the more they created a political and social condition which left steadily less room for the individual. Dr. Roche declares that, "The Progressives were bound to fail in their attempt to destroy a power monopoly by creating a power monopoly."

In 1912 Woodrow Wilson expressed the hope of the Progressives this way: "When we resist the concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death, for concentrated power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties." This is a sentiment with which Americans today should find themselves in agreement. Yet, today, the concentration of power which we face is in the hands of the very government to which the Progressives looked for an answer.

The effect of the regulatory agencies established initially during the Progressive era has not been to serve the public, but to serve the vested interests they were created to regulate. A number of historians have made it clear that the primary effect of the new regulatory agencies was to give dominant business groups a greater control over their respective economic interests than they had previously enjoyed. In fact, Professor Gabriel Kolko, in his volume *The Triumph Of Conservatism*,insists that it was the dominant business groups themselves who shaped and promoted the "Progressive" reforms as a means of continuing their own dominance.

Professor Kolko writes that, "It is business control over politics (and by 'business' I mean the major economic interests) rather than political regulation of the economy that is the significant phenomenon of the Progressive era . . . Political capitalism is the utilization of political outlets to attain conditions of stability, predictability and security – to attain rationalization – in the economy."

In the Progressive era, government became an ally rather than a foe of entrenched interests, both those of big business and of the large labor unions. Political regulation of economic affairs proved to be designed in most cases by the very interests presumably to be regulated. That is why, when today we discuss the possibility of eliminating such agencies as the ICC, that the major defenders of this agency are the trucking industry and the Teamsters Union – the groups to be regulated who have turned that agency into one which pursues their own interests, and opposes the "public interest."

The classic symptoms of monopoly have been (1) An absence of price

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competition, and (2) An inability for new competitors to enter the marketplace. Nothing could be a more accurate description of a government-regulated industry. As we have already seen, agencies such as the FCC do nothing more than permit the already established giants in the communications field an absolute monopoly of the area by means of government licensure. The CAB does precisely the same thing for the airlines, and the same can be discovered in other regulated sectors of our economy.

Discussing this unfortunate situation, Professor Yale Brozen of the University of Chicago states that, "The regulatory agencies not only prevent those in the transportation industry from competing with each other – they also protect those in the industry from the entry of additional competitors. You cannot get into the trucking business, the airline business, the bus business as you would enter retailing or manufacturing. You must be certified by the CAB if you wish to enter the airline business. The CAB has not certified an additional scheduled airline in the continental United States since it began operating in 1938. The ICC will certify an additional common carrier truck company to operate on a given route only if it can be demonstrated that adequate truck service is not available on the route in question. The only major city in which you can start a taxi business simply by applying for a taxi license and demonstrating that you carry the necessary public liability insurance and have safe equipment and drivers is Washington, D.C. All other major cities stop any additional taxi operators from entering the business. They even prevent taxi operators from increasing the size of their fleets. Transportation regulation very effectively protects transportation companies from new competition and produces the exact opposite of the situation which our anti-monopoly laws were designed to produce in other industries"

Unfortunately, many businessmen prefer government regulation to the risks which must be taken in the free market. James M. Roche, writing in *The Michigan Business Review*, expresses the view that, "Business and government can ill afford to be adversaries. So mutual are our interests, so formidable are our challenges that our times demand our strengthened alliance. The success of each depends upon the other."

The old warning by economist Friedrich Hayek that socialism in its radical form was not nearly as dangerous as socialism in its conservative form is worthy of serious reconsideration. As George Roche has noted, "When the advocates of state power and the advocates of corporate bigness form an alliance, the resultant form, however conservative, is still socialistic."

While we may understand the reasons for business and labor to support the regulatory agencies which have grown up in the years since the Progres-

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sive era, there is no reason for those who are truly concerned with the public interest to do so. Only by permitting the free market to work, by eliminating government-created monopolies, can we give each citizen the opportunity to vote with his dollars for the goods and services he seeks.

The regulatory agencies as they exist today not only eliminate competition but, in that they give government total power over vital sectors of the economy, challenge the very concept of individual freedom as well.

This point was made by the distinguished economist Wilhelm Roepke, in his book, *The Social Crisis Of Our Time*: "An economic system, where each group entrenches itself more and more in a monopolist stronghold, abusing the power of the state for its special purposes, where prices and wages lose their mobility except in an upward direction, where no one wants to adhere to the reliable rules of the market any more, and where consequently nobody knows any longer whether tomorrow a new whim of the legislature will not upset all calculations, an economic system in which everyone wants to live exclusively at the expense of the community and in which the state's budget finally comes to about half of the national income: a system of this kind is not only bound to become unprofitable and thus bound to intensify the scramble for the reduced total profit, but it will moreover in the end suffer a complete breakdown. This is usually called the crisis of capitalism and is used as an occasion for new and revolutionary interventions which complete the ruin and corruption and finally present us with the inexorable choice of either returning to a reasonable and ethical market system or of plunging into the collectivist adventure."

The American society has the opportunity to turn away from its self-destructive policies of governmental regulation of the economy. The place to begin, many in Washington now believe, is with the abuses of the regulatory agencies, some of which have been discussed here. Unless we take these steps now, it may cost us much more to do so in the future. With our economy headed down, with unemployment and inflation mounting at the same time, we can ill afford the counter-productive role being played by regulatory agencies in Washington. Hopefully, an aroused society, carefully examining the available data, will come to this inevitable conclusion.

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THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE DEFENSE OF THE FREE WORLD

H. H. Biermann, S.S.A., O.B.E.
Chief of Staff of the South African Defense Forces

Introduction

The very title of this article contains ingredients for controversy. I can visualize the raised eyebrows and the shaking of heads while readers formulate the questions (some of which are rhetoric). "What is the Free World?" "Against whom or what must it be defended?" "Does it need to be defended?" Or more cynically: "Is it worth defending?"

This is patently not the place to analyse these and associated questions in detail, and I shall not attempt to do so. At the same time, however, it is pertinent to point out that, unless one assumes the existence, or the potential existence, of a more or less polarized conflict situation, there could be no justification for an article of this kind at all. Nor would there, by the same token, be a justification for NATO and the Warsaw Pact, for the US interest in Diego Garcia and the Soviet interest in such unlikely areas as Somalia, Uganda, Cape Verde Islands, etc. (these in addition to areas which could be rationalized in the context of other considerations such as the normal development of trade or the Sino-Soviet conflict.) There could be no justification for the ever increasing expenditure on armaments in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Whatever hesitations may prevail in Western thinking, however, there is no such ambiguity in the minds of the Soviet leadership on this score. Even if we should blind ourselves to the hostile implications of their actions; even if we should hail every ratification of an "agreement" as the dawn of a new era of detente in spite of the historic evidence that the USSR has never yet honoured an international agreement beyond the point where it ceased to yield direct advantage to the Soviet cause ... even so, I submit, we can not ignore the unwavering "Party Line" and the insistent and consistent policy statements and declarations issuing from the Kremlin. These spell out, regularly and in every conceivable syntax, that "The basic theme which runs through current Soviet statements on East-West relations and

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matters relating to Soviet defence is that, regardless of agreements between states, the struggle for dominance between the communist bloc, led by the Soviet Union, and the capitalist bloc, led by the United States, is uncompromising and irreconcilable and will continue as long as capitalism survives". (1)

It might perhaps have been more acceptable had I captioned this article "The RSA as a Pivot in the Balance of Power." Here once again, though, one would have to consult the Soviet strategic philosophy on the interpretation of the concept of balance of power. This is summarised in a monograph published by the University of Miami, as follows: "...the term 'balance of world forces' is to the Soviet a 'broad concept' which encompasses a gamut of factors: economic, political, psychological and ideological as well as military. However, none of these stands alone; all are interlocked. Strength in the case of one adds strength to all the others, and vice versa. And true superiority from the standpoint of the overall 'balance of world forces' requires superiority in all." (2) The all-embracing scope of this concept is further illustrated by the fact that the Soviet leaders also express the same idea in various different terms, such as: "correlation of forces in the world arena", "correlation of world forces" and "alignment of forces in the world arena".

For more than a decade Soviet leadership has been claiming, and boastfully proclaiming, that this balance of power was shifting inexorably in their favour. (3) During the last few years they have been insisting that this shift has become irreversible and consequently they have appropriated unto themselves a progressively increasing freedom of action and impunity to defy the USA in every sphere short of direct military confrontation. There is a widespread tendency in Western countries to discard this balance of power concept as an outmoded "zero-sum game". This point of view is claimed to be based on current realities, such as the depolarization of global conflict,

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(1) Goure, Leon. et. al. *The Role of Nuclear Forces in Current Soviet Strategy*. Monographs in International Affairs. Center for Advanced International Studies. University of Miami. 1974. p 1.

(2) Harvey, Mose L. et. al. *Science and Technology as an Instrument of Soviet Policy*. Monographs in International Affairs. Center for Advanced International Studies. University of Miami. 1972. p 4.

(3) Kohler, Foy D. et. al. *Soviet Strategy for the Seventies*. From Cold War to Peaceful Coexistence. Monographs in International Affairs. Center for Advanced International Studies. University of Miami. 1973. p 41.

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decentralization of communist control and even hostility within the communist camp, modern realism in the face of international problems such as environment, population explosion, the energy crisis, etc. Many of these current realities are in fact the very elements from which the shift in the balance of power accrues. Furthermore, there are other realities in the equation which the protagonists of this point of view appear to ignore, such as the Soviet nuclear armament, the expansion of Soviet maritime power, the Soviet gains and/or the US losses in the Mediterranean, in the Suez Canal area, in the Persian Gulf area, on the Indian subcontinent, in the Indian Ocean, on the African Continent, in Portugal, in the North Atlantic, in Indo-China or are these not realities?

Identification of Role

How does the RSA fit into this picture? Firstly, and in a general perspective, it is perhaps axiomatic to state that, in the present era of total strategy, engendered largely by the technological progress in respect of the destructive capacity of weapons and in their delivery as well as in respect of communication facilities, no area in the world is too insignificant to be considered in a global strategy. Similarly, in the application of the currently predominant indirect mode of strategy, no avenue of approach can be discarded with impunity. These truisms however assume more than rudimentary relevance with regard to the RSA if one should take into account certain inherent attributes accruing to the country from, for example, its geographic location, its natural resources, its state of development and its current stability. These are real attributes which could have either a positive or a negative effect on the defence of the Free World. The significance of this impact could be more or less crucial depending on circumstances prevailing in the event, and the pros and cons could be disputed. The effect could be either positive or negative: it could not be neutral.

It is of primary importance to note that the strategic relevance of each of the identified attributes is a function of the interaction between all the spheres on which they operate. Thus, in every sphere, they constitute an equation in which a change in one of the factors must have a direct significance on all the other spheres as well. This equation is further complicated by the fact that the strategic effect of these attributes, singly or in combination, is conditioned by the ambient internal climate. Therefore the prevailing internal climate in the RSA is a vital premise in the arguments deployed in the context of this paper. It is, once again, not my intention to elaborate

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on this subject except to define this premise as a stable situation in orderly evolution along democratic capitalistic lines.

Geographic Location

This is probably the major factor which focusses the attention of soldiers and students of strategy on the RSA. No one can take a look at a map of the world without noticing the location of Southern Africa. It is immediately conspicuous because it is seen to be one of three continents reaching into the southern ocean areas. To the student certain significant differences in the location of these three land masses will become apparent. He will no doubt notice that there is much more sea-room for manoeuvre around the South African shores than in the other two cases; that, except for the traffic through the Suez Canal, the maritime routes around the Cape provide the most direct link between countries on the Atlantic and Indian Ocean littorals; he would notice navigational bottlenecks to these oceans at Cape Horn, Panama, Gibraltar, Suez, the Indonesian sea area and the passage South of Australia, etc. Observation of these intrinsic physical characteristics would stimulate further analysis in the context of military, economic and political considerations which, in turn, would result in strategic appreciations.

It was natural therefore that objective studies should be made to explore the implications of the RSA's physical location in a strategic context and that such studies should pay progressively more attention to the related economic and political aspects. Developments over the past two decades induced a rapid increase in the quantity and a change in the tenor of studies on the subject. Developments which had the most notable influence on this were probably technological advances, decolonialization, the expansion of Soviet naval power, the situation in the Middle East, the energy crisis, the dwindling available raw materials and the changed status and alignment of Portugal and its former African territories ... I have remarked that the tenor of these studies has changed: they have become less objective and one discerns a greater urgency in them.

The main arguments in current studies revolve mainly around the commercial and military importance of the Cape Sea Route, the importance of the RSA as an operational base in the event of a general war and the value of the South African harbours and its developed infrastructure as a supporting and supply base for operations in the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Latterly a greater emphasis has been placed on the RSA's resources of energy and raw materials. One finds, of course, numerous variations on these themes

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as well as differences in emphasis, but the factors invoked in the different arguments remain largely within this general framework.

The conclusions drawn in these studies could, generally speaking, be classified as belonging to one of two opposing schools of thought, viz: either that the RSA is vital to the defence and the security of the Free World, or, at the other pole, that it has no significant role to play in this respect. (4)

Economic Considerations

Protagonists of the first school of thought point to the importance of commercial shipping along the Cape Sea Route for Western Europe and, to an increasing extent, for the USA "The grand total of all ships of all nations passing the Cape of Good Hope ... comes to approximately 24000 ocean-going ships a year, or 66 per day". (5) Increasing emphasis is placed on tanker traffic (+ 70% of total tonnage) and it is postulated that, for the forseeable future, the Cape Route will remain of vital importance in this respect; it is agreed that even if the Suez Canal should resume peak operation the route would remain vulnerable and the Canal will not be able to accommodate laden super tankers. Attention is drawn to the increasing Soviet maritime presence in the Indian Ocean, its expanding facilities on the Indian Ocean littoral and Soviet and Chinese representation and influence in African states. These are interpreted as constituting a potential threat to Western shipping in view of the absence of a counter Western presence. The

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(4) See for example:

a. Wall, Patrick. *Draft General Report on the Security of the Alliance (NATO).* October 1974.

b. Menaul, Stewart. *The Indian Ocean in the Next Decade*, South Africa International, Vol V, No. 4, April 1975.

c. *The Security of the Cape Oil Route,* Institute for the Study of Conflict Special Report. March 1974.

d. Jukes, Geoffrey. *The Indian Ocean in Soviet Naval Policy*, Adelphi Papers, No. 87, May 1972.

e. *Africa and the Defense of the West*, Le Monde Moderne, 1975.

f. *Indian Ocean Security*, Bulletin of the Africa Institute of South Africa, No. 2, Vol XIII, 1975.

g. Dodd, Colonel N. *Simonstown*, Defense Magazine, England, 1975.

(5) Wall, Patrick, ed. *The Indian Ocean and the Threat to the West.* Four Studies in Global Strategy. Stacey International. London 1975. p 62.

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RSA with its developed ports, maritime communications, repair and refuelling facilities, resources and infrastructure, backed by the largest industrial complex in the Southern Hemisphere, is seen as vital ground for the protection of this lifeline and to ensure the smooth and uninterrupted flow of traffic in peace and in war.

The RSA's economic importance is summarised by Mr. Patrick Wall, MP, in the following terms: "South Africa is the world's largest supplier of the world's most precious metal, gold, and its most precious stone, the diamond. For centuries men have fought over these exotic minerals. Today modern technology has given enhanced importance to such minerals as uranium, chrome and vanadiu, all of which are found in large quantities in the Republic of South Africa. Export of these materials to the West are of great strategic and economic importance. As far as food is concerned South Africa is virtually self-supporting and exports maize, sugar, tobacco and fruit as well as wood, karakul, mohair and hides." (6) The RSA is one of the leading producers of minerals in the Western world. Currently some 65 minerals are produced, the chief of which are high-grade iron ore, coal, copper, limestone, phosphates, vermiculite, antimony and titanium - and of course gold and diamonds.

The importance of these resources, it is pointed out, derives not so much from the fact that they exist and are known to exist, but rather from the fact that they are being exploited effectively and, above all, that they are available to the Free World. This is seen to be a crucial consideration in the context of the current awareness of the incipient crisis as regards the availability of raw materials to the industrial countries of the West. In view of the consideration that economic vitality is a prerequisite for the preservation of the Western way of life, the RSA fulfills an important role, in the economic sphere, in the defence of the Free World.

Adherents to the opposing school of thought generally concede the statistical facts in the arguments referred to above, but they differ in the interpretation. They argue, for example, that the Cape Sea Route - and in particular in respect of oil supply - is not all that important for Western economy. The counter argument rests on different assessments of Western dependence on Middle East oil and of the effect which the reopening of the Suez Route and eventually the SUMED and other pipelines will have on the volume of the Cape Route traffic.

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(6) Ibid. p 59.

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They see no ominous or sinister portent, as far as the West is concerned, in the increase of Soviet maritime presence in the Indian Ocean or the expansion of Soviet and Chinese influence in African states. These manifestations, they assert, are natural and legitimate aspirations of these powers to extend their international relations in the different spheres of inter-state commerce. Any military implication in these activities, if such implications are admitted, are ascribed to the Sino-Soviet conflict. It is a logical next step, therefore, to conclude that the question of the protection of shipping on the Cape Route does not arise and, as a corollary to this, that the role of the RSA in the defence of the Free World in this context is irrelevant.

On the issue of the RSA's importance accruing from its economic resources, the champions of this second school of thought contend that the sources of raw materials in the rest of the African continent must be vastly in excess of those in the Republic of South Africa. Without analysing the implications of the time factor involved in the discovery and actual exploitation of such resources, their availability to Western industrialised countries or the security of tenure and supply, they then arrive at two conclusions. Firstly, they conclude that the relative economic importance of the RSA is overrated and, secondly - on the premise that there is no communist threat in this region - that there is no risk of the West losing this source of supply of raw materials anyway.

Military Considerations

In the military strategic sphere we find an even greater diversity in points of view cutting across both the schools of thought identified above. The main points at issue are the hypotheses of future confrontations, probable scenarios, effective military balance, vital objectives, enemy strategy, the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean in a general war, the importance of land-based support for maritime operations and a host of associated theories and concepts.It is manifestly out of the question even to attempt to analyse these factors in a single article and therefore I shall only refer to a few implications involved.

Basic to the argument, of course, is the question of the nature of the conflict. By definition there can be no strategy unless a conflict situation exists and, by the same token, neither could there be an argument about defence and the role of the RSA in defence.

As I have already intimated, there is a school of thought which tends to reject the existence of a polarized conflict on a global scale and in a total

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sense. Its champions translate the realities of current tensions to competition in areas of social endeavour (economic, industrial, technological, ideological, etc.) and to regional, local and internal conflicts. Hence, the argument goes, security has become divisible. (7) This leads to their hypotheses that the only admissible confrontation is one that is postulated on the escalation of regional conflicts. In this context Southern Africa, in contrast, for example to the Middle East, is considered to be an unlikely region for the initiation of such an escalation because, it is argued, super power interests are not sufficiently involved in the region. In spite of this assessment of the RSA's importance (or lack of importance) however, the argument is developed, by some of its champions, (8) to the amazing conclusion that the RSA should desist from strengthening its defensive capability lest the African states be provoked to aggression. This, the argument goes, would set in motion a regional conflict which might involve super power interests and create conditions for a confrontation. (A regional version of the ABM argument).

At the other end of the spectrum we find the premise that the East-West conflict, symbolized on the one hand by the USA and on the other by the USSR, is continuing unabatedly; that it is a protracted war of low intensity in which every sphere of human activity serves as a means of coercion and/or as a target; that, because of the destructive capability of modern weapons, the indirect mode of strategy is prevalent; that detente is a Soviet strategy and that the Kremlin has not deviated in the slightest from its aim of total world domination. (9)

A truly inexplicable phenomenon in all the arguments over the whole spectrum indicated above is that the consideration of the "balance of forces in the world arena", in the context of the Soviet interpretation of the concept is conspicuous by its absence. I have already emphasized the fact that this tenet of Soviet strategy is constantly invoked by the Soviet leadership, even to this day. One would imagine that this in itself - ie the Kremlin's insistence on this tenet - would qualify it for inclusion in any argument in which a conflict with the Soviet Union arises. This would be true even if such a conflict were only admitted as an hypothesis. Moreover, bearing in mind

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(7) Bertram, Dr. Christoph. *South Africa in the World Strategic Situation.* S.A.I.I.A. Symposium, Pretoria. 1975. p 5.

(8) Ibid. p 18.

(9) Cf. Gordon, Andrew. *Soviet Strategy Crisis Management.* Strategic Review. US Strategic Institute. Vol III, No. 2. Spring 1975. pp 30 - 40.

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the Communist gains referred to in the introductory portion of this article, one would imagine that this consideration would qualify for inclusion in its own right, even if in the course of the elaboration of the argument its importance or relevance should be demolished. It can not be ignored.

Within this notion of balance the pivotal strategic importance of the RSA emerges with irresistible insistence. A glance at a political map of the world will illustrate the penetration and expansion of communist influence over the face of the globe since the end of the Second War. In every instance, in every geographic area or sphere of action, this expansion was achieved to a greater or lesser extent at the expense of the West, and specifically the USA. This is no friendly concurrence, because even in apparently innocuous situations the communists import their "doctrine of imperialism" which, by definition, is calculated to generate hatred towards the West. Even where the communists have suffered severe setbacks and where ideological communism was rejected outright, the doctrine of imperialism remained and blossomed. Dr. Frederick C. Schwartz claims that "the mighty propaganda apparatus of the World Communist movement focusses upon the teaching of the doctrine of imperialism". (10) Also: "It is creating revolutionary enemies of the United States all around the world". (11)

Reverting to the map, it would be noticed that there are very few areas on the globe which remain unexploited by communist penetration in this context. One of these is the Republic of South Africa; it is one of the three out of forty five independent states on the continent of Africa where there is still no official communist representation of any kind. This in itself constitutes a strategic objective in the context of the theory of "the alignment of forces in the world arena". Its strategic importance from the Soviet point of view is enhanced by the geographic and economic assets to which I have already referred. Furthermore, within the regional perspective it provides a gateway and a base for access to Africa south of the Sahara. In a global perspective it constitutes vital ground for the control of the southern Indian and Atlantic Oceans, and a firm foothold here would bring the Soviets a

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(10) Schwartz, Dr. Frederick, C. *Terroristic Activity*. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate. Ninety-Third Congress. Second Session. Part 3. July 5, 1974. U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington 1975. p 165.

(11) Ibid. p 164.

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great deal nearer to their goal of encircling Western Europe and isolating the USA.

The RSA with its present constitution assumes a posture of unequivocal anti-communism. This posture is most unlikely to survive a revolutionary change. At best an anti-imperialist regime would seek to be non-aligned in the African interpretation of the term, but it will be an anti-imperialist alignment in the Soviet sense of the strategic principle. In effect this would reduce, if not completely prohibit the existing mutual trade between this country and the West; it would threaten foreign investment and foreign tenure of such investment, and it would deny the West the military facilities presently open to it. On the other hand, it would encourage trade with the communist world and Soviet maritime presence in the area of the Cape of Good Hope. At worst, the inevitable chaos attendant upon a revolution in Africa, would be exploited to turn the country into a Soviet satellite. This would not only deprive the Free World of the assets to which I have alluded, but would confer these very assets upon the Soviets. The balance of forces in the world arena would indeed have tilted finally and irreversibly in favour of the Soviet Union.

There is little prospect for a successful revolution in the RSA. In fact the conspicuous progress in orderly evolution being achieved by the development of the present government policy in the RSA, and in Africa, tends to convince more and more people inside and outside the country that a revolution would be irrelevant and counter productive. This fact will inevitably stimulate the extremists to more feverish endeavours and, should the credibility of our defensive capability become suspect, these could well lead to desperate attempts at armed incursion. Active communist support in such an eventuality is more than speculation; it is a sine qua non. It is spelt out in their doctrine and it is currently reiterated by Kremlin leaders and official Soviet media (12); it is rendered all the more likely in the light of the evidence that the Kremlin leaders are progressively more inclined to disparage USA credibility to react in opposition to Soviet initiatives. (13)

From the South African point of view, every effort to defend the RSA, both physically and ideologically, from revolutionary chaos and communist penetration, is an effort in direct support of the defence of the Free World.

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(12) Cf. Kohler, Foy D. et. al. *The Soviet Union and the October 1973 Middle East War*. The Implications for Detente. Monographs in International Affairs. Center for Advanced International Studies. University of Miami. 1974. pp 18 - 20, 22, 68, 69, 124.

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This argument is often countered by the cynical retort that we are claiming to defend the interests of third parties who do not wish to be so defended and who, in fact, are embarrassed by such pretence. But such scorners seldom deign to follow the argument to its logical conclusion.

Conclusion

It would appear that all the arguments negating the importance of the RSA's role in the defense of the Free World – at the present time, and precisely under its present system of government – are postulated on unilateral hyper-sophisticated Western theories, without convincing proof that these are shared by the Soviet Union and the so-called Third World. Whereas I do not consider myself qualified to refute these theories categorically, I can find little to substantiate them in recent and current Soviet official pronouncements, in the declared tenets of Communist strategy or in contemporary history.

These theories are propounded with erudition and are used in numerous permutations in order to justify arguments in favour of a reappraisal of international relations. This tendency in certain circles has gained impetus since the Middle East War of October 1973 and has been stimulated by the developments in Vietnam and in Cambodia, the SALT-Agreements, the Conference on European Security and by the preoccupation with detente. A reappraisal on these lines, however, contains an inhibition inherent in the very theories on which it is based in so far as the latter predicate the absence of a threat. Therefore the conclusions are predetermined: where is the wolf? – the wolf has no teeth – it is not a wolf; it is a sheep in a wolf's skin – there is no wolf.

This sophisticated (cynical) approach has gained almost universal credence in the West, because, if the conclusions were valid, it would constitute "a consummation devoutly to be wished". A good example of this credence can be seen in the following quotations from a study by Professor Rosecrance: "Popular opinion in European countries even more than in the United States fails to see the Soviet Union as a great threat," (14); "... the Soviet Union

(13) Cf. a. Ibid. pp 102, 103.
b. Goure. op. cit. pp 2, 33 - 34.

(14) Rosecrance, Prof. Richard. *Strategic Deterrence Reconsidered.* Adelphi Papers Number One Hundred and Sixteen. International Institute for Strategic Studies. London 1975. p 18.

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and China are no longer the intransigeant foes of yesteryear", (15) and "Fewer Americans are willing to honour their deterrent obligations to Europe than at the peak of the cold war tensions. Fewer Europeans are willing to spend monies to devise alternative means of defence."(16)

Regrettably I can find no credible basis for assurance that the leaders of the "socialist block of states" share these theories or that their peoples participate in Western sentiments in this respect. All the facts at my disposal would appear to support the exact opposite unless we were to ascribe to the opponent the same standards, the same motives and generally the same characteristics as our own. This would entail believing the opponent when he releases prepared statements in French and in English for international consumption, while disregarding his doctrine and refusing to believe what he says at home in his own press in his own language for his own people. This is too tenuous a premise to justify a relaxation of preparedness. Therefore the RSA will continue to be on guard and to contribute to the defence of the Free World to the maximum extent within its competence (in spite of detractors) because we are determined to defend ourselves.

(15) Ibid. p 20.
(16) Ibid. p 33.

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MARXISM AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

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In 1975 anyone attempting to discuss the problem of Marxism and Industrial Conflict automatically lays himself open to the charges of either hunting for "Reds under the bed" or of being an heir of the late American Senator McCarthy. Yet to avoid the problem would not only be cowardly but would also be a refusal to face what is likely to become the crucial issue during the coming period in most of the advanced industrial societies which are based on a mixed market economy. This is especially so because of the acute inflationary problems facing many countries, not least among them Britain, when all history, from the time of the Roman Empire to the present day, teaches that no political system has long been able to survive the impact of severe and continuing inflation.

A report, published in February, 1974, entitled "Sources of Conflict in British Industry"* noted that:

> "It is worth stressing the obvious, but frequently overlooked, fact that at any moment of time the majority of workers in this country are working normally and peacefully; in this sense peace *is* the norm, and the common self-interest is evident. But there will always be real and fundamental conflicts of interest - at its simplest on how management and labour divide the cake. In that respect, conflict is endemic in the system. *If real and fundamental divisions of interest cannot be reconciled, some overt conflict, whether in the form of strikes or other manifestations, must take place.* Genuine bargaining is dependent on both sides having what American trade union officials call "a club in the closet". The right to withdraw labour (or for management to lock out workers) is one of the essential ingredients of a free society."

This statement is indeed an accurate description of the industrial scene under what might be called "normal" conditions. What needs consideration is the perspective which can be opened up under conditions of acute economic stress.

Much of modern management theory has confused the issue by denying

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the existence of any real endemic conflict and by seeking to find psychological solutions to what it regards as the outcome of ignorance, incompetent management or the obstinacy of trade unions. In so doing it has obscured the all-important difference between the role of the democratic militant, fighting to secure the best interests of his fellow workers as he sees them, and those for whom industrial conflict has to be promoted as the prelude to the breakdown of the existing system and the seizure of political power.

The theory that industrial conflict can be the means whereby the so-called capitalist system can be destroyed and replaced by a socialist "paradise" has a long history.

Well over a century ago Engels wrote (1):

> "These strikes, at first skirmishes, sometimes result in weighty struggles; they decide nothing it is true, but they are the strongest proof that the decisive battle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is approaching. *They are the school of war of the workingmen in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided*; they are the pronunciamentos of single branches of industry that these too have joined the labor movement . . . *And as schools of war they are unexcelled.*"

This view of trades unions in practice was an extension of the fundamental attitude expressed by Marx when he argued that (2):

> "Trade Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla struggle against the effects of the system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

The theme of the unions as weapons of revolution runs throughout the entire Marxist experience and literature. From the time of the First Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1898 to the publication of his pamphlet "What is To Be Done" in March, 1902 Lenin directed his chief attacks against those whom he called "Economists" i.e. those who sought economic and social improvement for the Russian people and not the revolu-

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(1) "Condition of the Working Class in England 1844", Friedrich Engels, Allen and Unwin, London, 1943, p. 224.

(2) "Value, Price and Profit", Karl Marx, Allen and Unwin, London, 1935, p. 94.

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tionary overthrow of the system which was his objective (3). In his polemic Lenin wrote:

> "We must bear in mind that the struggle with the government for partial demands, the winning of partial concessions, are only petty skirmishes with the enemy, petty encounters on the outposts, whereas the decisive engagement is still to come."

The crime of the "Economists" in Lenin's eyes was that they wanted a party of social reform and not of revolution and thus were failing to use the revolutionary potentialities of the unions to the full.

In Britain the relationship between the Trade Unions and the Labour Party, and hence a Labour Government (to the extent that the "Left" is dominant) is different from that between trade unions and social democratic parties elsewhere. Because of this, Communists in Britain have always had a special perspective towards the unions since the early 1920s and this runs like a thread throughout the history of the last half century.

Perhaps the perspective is to be seen in its most succinct expression in a speech made by the former general secretary, Harry Pollitt, when in his report to the 22nd National Congress of the Communist Party, he declared (4).

> "In the factories and other places of work, workers of all political opinions confront the employing class in defence of their common interests. Here the activity of Communists, in close association with the Labour members and others, has to be directed to strengthening the fighting spirit and solidarity of the workers in the struggle to defend and advance the wages and conditions of every section of workers."
>
> "It also means bringing to our fellow workers the class outlook that only Communists can give, by political education that links the struggles in the factories against the *war policy of the Tories and shows the need to end capitalist rule and replace it with a people's democracy.*"

Outlining Communist tactics, he continued:

> "The struggle in the factories will be reflected in the trade union branches, which will more express the growing militant unity and class outlook of their members in the factories. The trade union branches in turn will express it in the election of officials and of delegates to their union conferences, of delegates to Labour Parties and trades councils, and the nomination and selection of candidates for local and parliamentary elections. Communists should everywhere be working with the

(3) "History of the C. P. S. U. (Bolsheviks)", Moscow 1943, pp. 31 - 39.

(4) "Britain Arise", by H. Pollitt, Communist Party, 1952, pp. 22-29.

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Labour Party and non-party members of their trade unions branches, in order to help them in choosing for these positions the most militant and class-conscious members of the branch, and in putting forward *a working-class policy on all issues, as opposed to the collaboration policy of the right-wing trade union and Labour leaders.*

The members of our Party should be working with members of the Labour Party to ensure that their trade union branches are affiliated to their local Labour Parties, that militant delegates are sent and attend regularly, and that those delegates are mandated on all important issues."

The attack on the so-called right-wing Labour and Trade Union leaders, which was reminiscent of the Comintern Characterisation of non-Marxists as "Social Fascists" in the 1920s and 1930s, underlined the importance of another point Pollitt made in his report when he laid it down that:

"It is high time that the rank and file of the trade union movement forced their leaders either to change their present reactionary policies, or get rid of them to make way for leaders who know what the *true functions* of trade unionism are, and will guarantee that they are carried out."

The shift in the balance of power in a number of key unions in the years that have elapsed between this report and 1974 is a measure of the success which the long-run Communist strategy has achieved.

It would be wrong, however, to regard the Communists as the only force operating in such a way towards a revolutionary end. The I.S.C. Report, referred to at the beginning of this essay, gives a detailed picture of the various Trotskyist, Maoist and other groups which are also active. Ironically there is bitter hatred and conflict between them on both doctrinal and practical issues. Whilst lack of unity may weaken them in one sense their divisions can help to exacerbate situations in which each group is striving to prove that it is more militant/revolutionary in its demands and actions than its rivals. In one thing, however, they are completely united. It is in their attribution of all the ills from which our species suffers to the evils of the existing system. There may be a few among them who are power-hungry for selfish reasons or who seek to exploit difficulties for self-advancement but this does not apply to the overwhelming majority who can possibly be best described as perverted idealists. It is a form of "religious politics" in which the minds are totally closed. They have a holy duty to destroy the evil system and replace it by their earthly paradise. To achieve this, the end always justifies the means.

Thus those who work in the field of industrial relations are engaged,

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whether they like it or not, in a permanent political battle from which there is no escape. Recognition of this fact is vital in formulating policy and action. The key objective, which it is easy to state but incredibly difficult to achieve, is to win the majority of workers for co-operation, to neutralize the uncertain and to isolate the extremists. This whilst the extremists apply the same political strategy in reverse.

In Britain, as in other advanced industrial societies, periods of economic growth with the value of real wages rising present the least favorable circumstances for political disruption. But under conditions of severe inflation, when expectations are not being fulfilled and the value of real wages tends to fall, the siren songs of the extremists can prove more attractive.

If a counter-inflation policy leads to a short-run rise in unemployment; if as the result of continuous strikes firms go bankrupt and jobs disappear; if prices rise as the result of external world monetary forces; if balance of payments problems force a government of any party to retrench; then all can be blamed on the evils of the system. It can be argued that at a national level the education of the population is the responsibility of government and politicians although, in many countries today, this would hardly provide grounds for optimism. What may be urged is that industry itself has a responsibility, as well as a self-interest, in this sphere. In the coming period those managements most likely to be successful will be those which really explain with full disclosure of information, the exact position of their companies both as units and within the overall picture. It can be argued that only by the development of a high productivity/high wage economy based on mass political-industrial education with democratic participation can free societies both repel the threats which confront them and guarantee their own stability and survival.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF NATIONALISM IN THE USSR

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It has frequently been the assertion of their opponents that Marxists have never completely understood nationalism, the peasantry or the power of religious faith. Each of these claims is clearly open to refutation, and none more so than that concerning nationalism (1). The impact of chauvinism was only too apparent to Lenin and other old Bolsheviks at the beginning and end of World War I (2). And yet, a combination of these forces has, nevertheless, proved remarkably resilient and resistant to the inroads of alternative ideologies, such as Marxism. This has been especially true where ethnic and linguistic factors have been fused with a religion exclusive to, or localised within, the particular community. In such circumstances, practice has tended to belie the Marxist ideological dictum on the increasing irrelevance of national divisions with the ending of the bourgeois state and the emergence of a socialist world order.

In practice, of course, the bourgeois state had little opportunity to establish itself among some of the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Eurasian hinterland. Indeed, a number were never to savour the advantages and disadvantages of independence, even though the nationalist winds of change swept Eastern Europe long before Africa and Asia were to undergo such a transfer of power. The principal exception was Russia. While the empires of Austro-Hungary and Turkey were broken up, her's remained largely intact, in spite of all the vicissitudes of revolutions and civil war. Thus, despite its ideological disclaimers, the Soviet Union, by virtue of its inherited and, in fact, voluntarily extended ethnic diversity, has, of necessity, found itself face to face with the twentieth-century resurgence of nationalism.

Although CPSU Central Committee secretary Pyotr Demichev was to declare in 1974 that, 'In the USSR a new historical identity has appeared — the

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(1) An interesting and recent discussion of this issue is to be found in G. Haupt, M. Lowy and C. Weill: *Les Marxistes et la Question Nationale 1848 – 1914*, Maspero, Paris, 1974.

(2) See e.g. his *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, Collected Works, Vol. 20, Moscow, 1947 — an article written in February — May, 1914.

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Soviet people', the regime has still had to cope with the problem of a myriad of narrower nationalisms within the Union. After the apparent sense of unity, or at least public unanimity, which marked the Stalin era, it has appeared to many non-Soviet observers that the various nationalisms have made a recent comeback as a significant factor in Soviet politics. In actual fact, they never really disappeared, though often scarcely discernible to the outsider during the darker periods of the purges and the attempted totalitarian police state, as we now know from numerous inside accounts. All that occurred was a relatively successful suppression and silencing of the more vociferous nationalist elements, together with the creation of a more generalized atmosphere of caution and reluctance to step out of line.

However, in spite of this element of continuity, the question remains as to why the various nationalisms persist in the USSR, and in fact apparently thrive some sixty years (or two generations) after the accession to power of a regime theoretically dedicated to the view that nationalism is at best an irrelevance and at worst a retrogressive anachronism. It has, moreover, been a regime armed with policies to match its ideological stance, making this survival all the more remarkable.

To provide some answer to this curious situation, it is necessary to consider a range of factors, some general in application, others more specific to individual manifestations of corporate national identity.

In the area of general factors, consideration has firstly to be given to the simple fact of the current regime's inheritance of an empire and a will to maintain, as a territorially integral unit, a diverse, widely dispersed and ethnically disparate population (3). No empire of this type to date has ever revealed itself to be ultimately immune to disintegrating tendencies. Indeed, if the stages of history postulated by Marx himself are at all relevant outside the narrow confines of Western Europe and North America, it would be somewhat unnatural if the desire for independence and a state of one's own, however bourgeois, did not emerge among peoples who were quite simply conquered. There seems little reason why Russia alone should so consistently remain aloof from 'the scientifically determined laws of history.'

Whatever the undoubted material benefits which may now have accrued to the minority nationalities in terms of economic, social and general cultural facilities – factors stressed in Soviet sources dealing with this issue – the

(3) For useful discussions of the impact of this imperial heritage see W. Kolarz: *Russia and Her Colonies*, G. Philip, London, 1952; and R. Conquest: *The Last Empire*, Ampersand, London, 1962.

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gains by the minority nationalities in terms of self-determination, national pride and cultural freedom have been less than notable in many instances. While standards of living may have been raised to a fairly uniform level throughout most of the land other than in some rural areas – no mean achievement in the trying circumstances of the last sixty years – it remains essentially a Russian empire ruled by the Russians. The self-styled 'elder brother' of the brotherhood of nations is ubiquitous within the union of sixteen republics, constituting more than 50 per cent of the total population and even outnumbering the indigenous peoples in some ethnic territorial units, such as the Komi and Bashkir autonomous republics. Similarly, at the level of the command structure, the Russians, in particular and certainly the Slavs in general, dominate the political stage. The ruling Party Politburo has consistently had a higher percentage of Russians than is proportionate to their numbers in the population. From 1919 to 1935 they constituted 65% of all Politburo members, whereas from 1939 (that is after the purges) until 1963 the percentage was 79. Among the present 22 members and candidate members of that body, some 12 are Russian by nationality. Even many of the non-Russians who have achieved high political status have been heavily Russified, as in the case of current Politburo member Arvid Pelshe, a Russian born Latvian, who in the inter-war years, when his people were enjoying a period of independence, was a secret policeman in the NKVD within Russia. Others, like Podgorny (Pidhornyi in Ukrainian) have had their very names Russified, while Kirilenko (whose name is clearly of Ukrainian origin) apparently claims Russian nationality.

In the minority nationality areas, colonial-style rule is effected through a kind of governor, in the person of the party second secretary, who is almost invariably a Russian (or Ukrainian – the so-called 'Little Russians'), and usually immune to the purges occasionally inflicted on republican leaderships on grounds of their toleration of nationalist deviations. The local KGB leaderships also usually contains Russians in a number of key positions.

In a context such as this, varying degrees of national resentment, unappeased by material gains, were only to be expected among some sectors of the minority nationalities, and could scarcely remain permanently suppressed and unvoiced.

Closely related to this first precedent-based point is the fact that far from any hiving-off having occurred, as in the case of other empires which survived World War I, the Soviet Union has actually continued to expand since 1917. She has incorporated the Baltic States and part of Finland, Poland and Czechoslovakia, but more significantly has gained, by seizure, Bessarabia

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(from Romania), some of the maritime province areas on the Pacific coast (from China), and Tannu Tuva (formerly an independent republic). In this way, not only were ethnic groups with older, even traditional, links with mother Russia reintroduced to the flock, but entirely, or predominantly, new populations have become a part of the Soviet family of nations.

In some instances, strong traditions of independence were well established in these territories. In the case of the Baltic States, for example, independence had not merely prevailed in the interlude between the wars, but Lithuania had been one of the mightiest states of Europe through much of the later Middle Ages. Elsewhere, a degree of independence had been retained within other states through the persistence of linguistic, cultural and religious differences. These multiple distinguishing characteristics have provided a double and treble source of strength and will to resist forcible assimilation, whereby resistance to the erosion of one facet has reinforced the others. Similar traditions of independence have of course continued in areas incorporated in an earlier era, especially in the Caucasian republics of Georgia and Armenia.

Above and beyond their tradition of actual independence, the occupants of the new territories have remained outsiders to some extent by virtue of being both in peripheral areas and of relatively recent incorporation. Consequently, ties may even remain quite strong with neighboring territories and peoples, while the initially alien, and potentially hostile, character of some of the new Soviet citizens was given recognition to, and even reinforced by, their early mass deportation. In these deportations, large numbers of inhabitants of newly acquired areas, such as the sub-Carpathian Ukraine and the Baltic States, were forcibly removed for varying periods to distant parts of the Soviet hinterland, where, in some instances, they were widely dispersed – a move which to some extent may have been designed to facilitate their assimilation. Certainly their relative lack of subsequent commitment to the new regime has been indicated by a consistently disproportionately low percentage of party membership (4).

A third general factor perpetuating minority nationalisms may be sought in the Soviets' own creation of a federation, wherein some of the constituent units are based essentially on ethnic grounds. In other words, to dispel the 'bourgeois ideology' of nationalism in say Georgia, the last solution

(4) Similar claims have been made vis-a-vis electoral support, though doubts about the significance of all Soviet electoral statistics, as well as the often small variations involved, make such conclusions ill-founded.

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would seem to be to create a distinct Georgian republic, however narrow its actual sphere of individual competence. Some early Bolsheviks did indeed seek to eliminate just such a problem with the creation of a unitary state at the outset, when the plans for federation were being drawn up in the course of 1923. Stalin and other Politburo leaders took a more realistic view of the need for temporary compromise to win over support and attain the long-term goal – the outcome being a state constitution based on centralism with a degree of autonomy. However, the administrative separation may have served to foster the very feelings the regime sought to assuage or eliminate. Indeed, several republican Party leaderships have, at various times, been subjected to criticism on grounds that they have engendered or tolerated nationalist deviations, or so-called national narrow-mindedness. This was particularly apparent in the 1959 cases in Azerbaidzhan and Latvia (5), but arose yet again with the dismissal of Ukrainian Party first secretary, Pyotr Shelest, in the summer of 1972 (6).

In a similar vein, many of the nationalist dissidents have couched their demands, requests and complaints in terms of protest against infringement of their ostensibly legally guaranteed national rights, using the Soviet constitution in particular as a point of reference. It has been officialdom's failure to live up to even these self-imposed norms which has provoked nationalist discontent as much as anything, or at least provided the dissidents with a legitimate framework for complaint.

Another source of explanation may be found in the actual internal grievances against which most of the nationalist manifestions have been directed. In some instances, these are of relatively recent origins, but for the most part they have been the subject of complaints for a number of decades. Essentially, all revolve around the process which has come to be known as Russification - that is the cultural dilution and liquidation of the ethnic minorities through policies wilfully, or even unwittingly, designed and implemented by the Great Russian overlords. Perhaps the most comprehensive exposition of the problem has been that by the Ukrainian Ivan Dzyuba (7) - all the more remarkable for having been the product of an avowed Marxist - though similar analyses have been undertaken by Crimean

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(5) See e.g. R. Conquest: *Russia after Khrushchev,* Pall Mall, 1965, pp. 208 – 11.

(6) TASS announcement, 25 May, 1972.

(7) Dzyuba: *Internationalism or Russification,* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968.

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Tatar, Lithuanian, Jewish, Armenian and Latvian writers at the very least.

Russification itself has taken a number of forms in specific instances, but the most general, severely felt and continuing features have involved deliberate demographic re-structuring of the USSR, and officially inspired cultural assimilation, especially though the medium of education.

The demographic aspect has involved the relocation of substantial populations from the minority territories and an influx of Russians and others, particularly into the urban centers and key posts in these areas. A classic, but by no means unique, example of this is provided by Latvia.

Following the two Soviet occupations of that country in 1940 and 1944, possibly as many as one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy thousand people were deported into the Soviet interior for varying periods of hard labor and exile. Subsequently others were recruited for various labor-intensive campaigns, such as the Virgin Lands scheme in Kazakhstan. Thus, while in 1935 Latvians constituted 77% of the population of Latvia (8), by the time of the 1970 census, their proportion in their own republic had dropped to 56.8% (9). In fact, in 1970 there were still 12,000 fewer Latvians in Latvia than there had been in 1925, although the depredations of World War II also played a not insignificant part in creating this situation. Over the period 1935-70, the percentage of Russians in the republic had, however, increased from 10.68 to 29.8, and in the Latvian capital of Riga, by 1970, Russians outnumbered Latvians by 13,000. A samizdat appeal of 1967 pointed to a similar situation in the Ukraine, where it was stated that while 500,000 Russians had settled in the republic in the 250 years preceding 1917, around 7 million had settled in the period from 1917 to 1966(10).

In terms of effective power and influence, the position of the Russian immigrants was soon reflected in the leadership patterns in the party, state and economic machines of the minority areas. Another samizdat protest document, from seventeen Latvian communists (11), has pointed out that of the eleven-man party Politburo in Latvia in 1971, 8 were actually Russian-

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(8) See J. Rutkis (ed.): *Latvia, Country and People,* Latvian National Foundation, Stockholm, 1967, p. 302

(9) Census returns in *Pravda,* 17 April, 1971.

(10) Appeal by P. Zalyvaka to the Ukrainian Supreme Court, 5 April, 1967, in V. Chornovil: *The Chornovil Papers,* McGraw-Hill, London 1968, p. 128.

(11) Text published in G. Saunders (ed.): *Samizdat – Voices of the Soviet Opposition,* Monad Press, New York, 1974, pp. 427 – 40.

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born Latvians, one an Estonian, and one a Russian. Only one member was a Latvian, born in Latvia. Several could speak little or no Latvian.

Canadian Communist Party member John Kolasky, after his return from two years as a student at the Higher Party School in Kiev, similarly revealed the range of key posts, particularly in industry, held by Russians in the Ukraine. Not only were they dominant in party and governmental posts, but in a range of other appointments, from the Kiev metro, television station, telephone service and state bank, to the Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theatre, river transport service and many major industrial plants (12).

Although often disguised by official assertions that such features as the national origin of leading cadres is of little import in the new melting-pot of nations, and by the publicity given to the variety of nationalities to be found at building sites and factories, this question of Russian predominance clearly has been of some concern among the minorities. As such, it has acted as a quiet catalyst for discontent, reinforced by the other aspect of assimilation – the Russification of the media of cultural expression, and transmission from generation to generation.

Concern in this respect has been expressed at the increasing Russification at a secondary level, in the mass media, but more particularly in the primary field of education. Certainly the Russian language has made enormous inroads at both levels in the republics, forcing some of the local languages almost into the position of being quaint anachronisms – a problem by no means confined to the Soviet Union. The dilution of the national cultures, encouraged by such august bodies as the department for the creation of new customs of the Ministry of Culture, and the so-called 'growing together of nations' in the sphere of education – long since recognized by the Jesuits and others as a key to moulding the future outlook of citizens – have provoked a vehement response from a number of nationalists. Notable among these have been Ivan Dzuba (13),Svyatoslav Karavanskyi (14) and Vyacheslav Chornovil (15), who have engaged in polemics on this issue with various

(12) J. Kolasky: *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine,* Peter Martin, Toronto, 1970, especially chapter 3 and appendices I-VIII.

(13) *Op. cit.*

(14) See his letters and appeals in Chornovil: *op. cit.*.

(15) See his 'Who and what does Bohdan Stenchuk defend', in the samizdat journal *Ukrainskyi Visnyk,* Nos. 5 and 6, in which Chornovil cites, in support of his case, the evidence on the inadequate Ukrainian element in higher education and recommendations to rectify this, produced in a speech by the Ukrainian Minister for Higher and Inter-

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officials in the Ukraine, and have been imprisoned partly for these very same efforts.

In the light of these various grievances, and the need for them to be articulated, a further factor can be identified as sustaining the various nationalisms of the Soviet Union – the leadership and inspiration given to the different causes, and indeed to separate strands within them, by some remarkably resilient, persistent and determined personalities. Martyrs or psychologically disturbed fanatics as they may respectively be viewed by their supporters or officialdom, there is no doubting their sincerity. Through the actions of these figures, nationalism has revealed itself again to be every bit as emotionally potent an ideology as Protestantism, Catholicism, Anarchism and Revolutionary Socialism. Volunteers to give all for a cause in the most adverse circumstances have been in no short supply. Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian nationalist who had already served 28 years in prison for his beliefs and actions in support of them, was sentenced to another 10 years in prison and five in exile, in July 1972. Karavanskyi, another Ukrainian, having served 16 years imprisonment for his activities, was, on his release in 1960, soon back to his former ways—only to be sentenced to a further 8½ years in 1965, with a subsequent 8 years added in 1969 for his continued activism in prison. Similarly Valentyn Moroz, and many others, have shown no regret or remorse for actions which resulted in prison sentences totalling 15 years or more, while Yuriy Shukhevych seems to have served 23 of his 42 years in prison for little more than refusing publicly to denounce his father, a leader of the Ukrainian insurgent army of the 1940s.

Extreme as this behaviour on the part of leading nationalist figures may seem, it pales beside that of some of their contemporaries, who have chosen suicide by fire as a medium for demonstrating publicly the depth of their feelings. In this they were no doubt inspired by the Buddhist monks of Viet-Nam and Jan Palach in Czechoslovakia. Instances of such actions have been reliably reported from the Ukraine in the 1960s, but also from Lithuania at the time of the Kaunas riots of May 1972.

Extreme unconcern for their personal fate has made these figures, as much as their ideas, a rallying point which has served to keep nationalist causes alive and within the public eye.

Ensuing directly from the genuinely felt grievances and the leadership to

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mediate Technical Education in 1965. The proposals were in fact never carried out, and the deficiencies remained.

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voice them, a further factor in the persistence of nationalism has been the emergence, in the course of the 1960s of a channel through which to propagate and communicate the various viewpoints – samizdat literature. This has not only provided a format in which nationalist sentiments could be aired, but also a forum wherein discussion and debate was made possible, thereby sharpening the weapons of the nationalist ideologues.

Much of the early literature in this field consisted of individual manifestos, programmes and suggestions on the national question, or reports of repressions exacted against their proponents. However, from an early stage, this medium had, as one of its most important features, the national issue oriented journal. From early short-lived circulars such as *Bat'kivshchyna i Svoboda* (Motherland and Freedom) and *Ideya i Chyn* (Idea and Deed) among West Ukrainian groups in the early 1960s, these developed into the relatively well-known and even quite regular publications of the late 1960s and 1970s. Among these were to be found *Iskhod* and *Evrei v SSSR* (Exodus and Jews in the USSR), *Ukrainsyi Visnyk* (the Ukrainian Herald), *Lietuvos Kataliku Baznycios Kronika* (the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church), *Faros* (the Lighthouse - an Armenian nationalist paper), *Re-patriya* (Repatriation – a Soviet German journal), and even a Russian nationalist journal, *Veche* (16). The Crimean Tatars too have circulated a newsletter for several years.

These journals particularly were able to air differing views on common issues, as well as providing a means to unify what had previously remained merely individually-voiced nationalist aspirations. Few, however, survived intact the post-1971 crackdown on dissidence, though the medium has clearly become established, and renewed or successor publications may be expected to appear in future.

Another source which has to be seriously considered here is that of external stimulation of the nationalist causes. Often cited by the Soviet official media as the primary motive force behind most dissent in the USSR, this charge of some element of foreign involvement is not one which can be entirely or easily dismissed. What is disputable is the extent of the involvement and its actual impact on the causes it has sought to sustain in a variety of ways. The intervention and stimulation which has occurred has taken a num-

(16) On this theme of Russian nationalism see D. Pospielovskiy: The Resurgence of Russian Nationalism in Samizdat, in *Survey*, No. 1. Winter 1973, pp. 51-74; and the same author's The Samizdat Journal "Veche" – Russian Patriotic Thought Today, *Radio Liberty Research Paper*, CRD 331/71, Munich, 5 November, 1971.

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ber of different forms, mostly the result of deliberate design, but occasionally of almost accidental character.

In the first place, the presence of German troops, and especially an accompanying intelligence and subversion community of considerable size, on Soviet soil for over two years, played a not insignificant part in reviving and stirring up a hornets nest of opposition to the regime of Stalin. This was of course only thirty years ago, and well within living memory. The German invasion was, moreover, largely confined to the peripheral minority republics, including those incorporated only a year or so previously. The forcible nature of this incorporation, and the horror of the regime of terror subsequently unleashed on them by Stalin provided the context of the welcome initially accorded the German 'liberators' in many towns and villages. The chaos during the invasion and at the time of the German retreat provided the opportunity for a good deal of nationalist agitation work, especially in the Baltic States and the western Ukraine; the intervening period provided an opportunity for organising the nationalist forces, and classifying their goals, as the Germans encouraged the formation of ethnic units within the Wehrmacht to assist in seizing and controlling the new territories of the Third Reich. Although relations between the Germans and the nationalists were by no means always cordial (and indeed many of the latter fought partisan actions against Germans and Russians alike), the breakdown of Soviet NKVD work among the minorities produced nationalist organisations and resistance which long outlived the war, and which has continued to produce trials of those so involved.

A second external factor was one which was based substantially on this first act of intervention - namely the joint SIS-CIA-Gehlen Org operation in support of the nationalist groups which survived the end of World War II inside and outside the USSR. While sustaining the work of the emigre groups abroad in publishing and then circulating their literature at all available opportunities within the Soviet Union, this operation took the more positive form of sending well armed espionage and saboteur groups into the Soviet Union (17). There they were to work alongside the Ukrainian and Baltic partisans fighting Soviet army and security police units as well as establishing

(17) Little has been published on this subject in the West and what is known about it comes largely from Soviet sources. The fullest western accounts are given in E. H. Cookridge: *Gehlen,* Corgi Books, 1972, pp. 292-315; H. Hohne and H. Holling: *The General was a spy,* Pan books, 1973, pp. 142-6; and H. A. R. Philby: *My Silent War,* MacGibbon and Kee, 1968, pp. 120-1.

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networks in the Caucasian republics and the Crimea. Commencing in July 1949, the Ukrainian operation involved parachute drops of teams of up to six agents, from aircraft based in Cyprus and Greece, and continued with little success until 1951 – Kim Philby acting as a co-ordinator between the separate CIA and SIS operations. The endeavours in the Baltic republics, however, seem to have been a little more successful in sustaining the partisan groups and their apparently hopeless cause. With the aid of British Naval Intelligence Service fast patrol boats and US aircraft, agents and weapons were landed between 1952 and 1955, some of them remaining active for at least two years. The Soviets have laid claim to the capture of thirteen of these operatives.

Alongside these covert operations, more open methods of penetration and manipulation of nationalist forces have been applied. With financial support from western intelligence agencies, this has taken the form of an extensive programme of broadcasting beamed to the USSR from transmitters in West Germany, Spain and Japan (18). While Radio Free Russia was aimed essentially at anti-Communist Russian language audiences until its closure on the orders of Chancellor Brandt in 1972, Radio Liberty has cast its net more widely. From its inception in 1953, Liberty has expanded to a service broadcasting in 17 languages of the Soviet Union, claiming for itself (at least in its submissions to Congress in support of continued US financial support) an audience of 30-40 million listeners per month. Claims such as this are difficult to prove or disprove, though the BBC would appear to have a wider appeal among Soviet listeners, particularly as it is no longer jammed, as is the case with Liberty in most urban centres. Nevertheless, these and other stations, such as Deutsche Welle and Voice of America, spend a considerable amount of time transmitting both news of dissident activities in the USSR and also the texts of much samizdat literature. Liberty especially concentrates on this aspect of information dissemination, and has, in consequence, repeatedly earned itself the wrath of Soviet official mass media.

The opening up of more and more of the Soviet Union to foreign tourism since the late 1960s has led to a renewal of the more covert and semi-covert forms of external stimulation. In numerous instances, emigre nationalist groups and their more powerful backers, as well as a number of more well-meaning bodies, have lent support to nationalist dissident activities. The

(18) See M. Latey: Broadcasting to Eastern Europe, in *Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1973, pp. 104-13.

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Gerald Brooke NTS incident in Moscow has in fact been paralleled in several of the minority republics, notably in the case of the Belgian-Ukrainian Dobosh in 1972 (19). While usually acting merely as couriers transporting samizdat materials from the USSR to the emigre publishing houses, these conspiratorial well-wishers can do the nationalist dissidents a great disservice if uninvited and subsequently caught, in so far as they enable the regime to maintain the half-truth of external inspiration. Equally however, in gaining external publicity and the backing of world opinion, in turn broadcasted to the USSR audience, they have attained some success in boosting the vulnerable morale of the nationalists.

Two further types of external stimulation have appeared, both of them coming from somewhat ironic sources. On the one hand, there has been the process of decolonisation throughout the third world in the post-war period– a process openly supported, and indeed encouraged, in international forums, by the Soviet Union itself. It has been this espousal of the cause of liberty in other empires which has rebounded to some extent. Many samizdat nationalist writings have drawn the incongruous parallel between Soviet external and internal policy, thought and deed. In this way, external events have almost accidentally fostered the minority nationalisms of the USSR.

On the other hand, a measure of intervention has come of late from the Soviet Union's own allies or satellites in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, and to a lesser extent Romania. The Polish involvement took the form of a petition, in December, 1974, to the Polish Minister of Culture, Jozef Tejchma, from sixteen writers and journalists, calling on the government of Poland to act in support of the rights and liberties of the at least one and a half million Poles in the USSR (20). Specifically, it appealed to the government "to enable the Poles in the Soviet Union to obtain the same rights as those enjoyed by our countrymen living in other countries". The petition further went on to proclaim the wish of the signatories that "our countrymen in the Soviet Union (might) have unhindered opportunities to express themselves on their needs, particularly in the matters of culture, education

(19) On his arrest see *Radyanska Ukraina,* Kiev, 11 and 26 February, 1972. Statements he made about his activities at a press conference in Kiev (reported in *Radyanska Osvita,* 7 June, 1972) were subsequently retracted in a statement he released, on his return to Belgium, on 12 June, 1972.

(20) Reported by *Reuter,* 9 and 11 December, 1974. See also *The Financial Times* London, 12 December, 1974 and RFE: Poles in the USSR – A Thorny Issue, *RFE Situation Report,* Poland/40, Munich, 20 December, 1974.

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and religion".

The reaction among, and activities of, the Soviet Poles has remained an unknown factor, although at least one of their number Ivan Yakhimovich (a collective farmer in Latvia) has been a leading figure in the general civil rights dissident movement for a number of years (21).

Romanian involvement over the vexed issue of the Soviet Union's 1940 annexation of her former territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina (the latter now part of the Ukraine, and the former, the Moldavian republic) has been quite recent, and perhaps reflects Romania's growing confidence in her independence from the diktats of Moscow. An historical novel by Marin Preda (22) was attacked in the Soviet Press and Radio Moscow's Romanian service for the way in which the position of these territories was presented in some of the dialogues. The Romanian writer's journal *Romania Literara,* was in turn quick to respond to this "unacceptable intervention". In this context it is significant that a number of Moldavians have been involved in agitation for fuller civil rights within the USSR (23).

The possibility cannot be ruled out that further cross-border involvement may occur in the case of a number of other divided ethnic groups, such as the Uighurs and Chinese in Central Asia and the Far East; the Turkmen and Azeri on the Iranian frontier; and in the case of the Meskhi, who have sought a return from Central Asian exile to their homeland on the Georgian/ Turkish border, or even emigration to Turkey (24).

A number of Hungarians in the Ukraine have run into similar difficulties

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(21) On his activities see particularly the Moscow samizdat journal *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy* (Chronicle of Current Events), Nos. 4, 7, 9, 11 and 13. A useful collection of his writings is to be found in G. Saunders: *op. cit.*, pp. 263-267 and 336-351

(22) Entitled The Delirium – see discussion of this issue in *The Financial Times,* 13 June, 1975.

(23) For instance, members of the so-called Democratic Union of Socialists were tried and sentenced in Moldavia, in September 1964, for forming an illegal organisation and printing a newspaper broadsheet entitled Pravda Narodu – see *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy* (Chronicle of Current Events), Nos. 15, 18 and 20.

(24) See R. Conquest: *The Nation Killers*; Macmillan, London, 1970, especially pp. 48-9, 64-6 and 187-9; and in *The Times,* London, 5 August, 1970; P. Reddaway: *Uncensored Russia,* Cape, London, 1972, ch. 13; and B. Lweytzkyj: *Politische Opposition in der Sowjetunion 1960 - 1972,* Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, Munich, 1973, pp. 107 - 9.

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for fostering their distinct national culture (25), though no open response has as yet been forthcoming from metropolitan Hungary. Israel and West Germany have, however, already been active in coming to the aid of the thousands of their ethnic compatriots who have actively sought to emigrate in recent years, in both cases with considerable success.

Such then are some of the more important general factors at work in stimulating nationalist activities. However, a variety of specific reasons for some of these manifestations must also be briefly considered for a full understanding of the picture as a whole.

One of the more long-standing of these factors has been the somewhat rough and ready nature of some of the administrative boundaries drawn up in the USSR to cater for the ethnic diversity. While most apparent in Central Asia, where the former nomadic existence of many of the Turkic inhabitants made compromise necessary for administrative convenience, the few instances of direct protest of recent years have occurred elsewhere. A number of Armenians, administratively in Azerbaidzhan, have sought incorporation into the Armenian republic, while in Buryat-Mongolia some local pressure has appeared for a land corridor to link the two parts of their presently divided territory. Others such as the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans have sought reinstatement of the administrative units they formerly possessed (26).

The cases of the Tatars and Volga Germans provide another reason for nationalist activism, that is an outstanding grievance of a specific character. In both instances this concerns the marked reluctance, if not total refusal, of the authorities to allow them to return to the territories they occupied prior to World War II. In so far as this demand remains unsatisfied, so the nationalist activism will continue.

A further motivating factor has evolved from the interdependence of ethnic identity and religious exclusiveness in some territories. In these cases,

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(25) See the discussion of their case in J. Birch: The Nature and Sources of Dissent in the Ukraine, in P. Potichnyj (ed.): *Ukraine in the Seventies*, Mosaic Press, Ontario, 1975.

(26) See R. Conquest: *The Nation Killers*; V.S. Vardys: The Case of the Crimean Tartars, in *Russian Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, April 1971; A. Sheehy: *The Crimean Tartars and the Volga Germans*, Minority Rights Group Report. London, 1971; B. Lewytzkyj: *op. cit.*, pp. 103-107 and 231-235.

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as for instance with the Roman Catholics of Lithuania (27) and the Eastern Rite Catholics of Carpathian Ukraine, (28) it has been the atheist Soviet state's attack on religion which has stimulated a response as much based on ethnic closing-of-the-ranks as on religious fervour. Even in Buryat-Mongolia, the attacks on Buddhist community leaders have been viewed as an assault on ethnic identity and cultural heritage (29).

The Arab-Israeli war of 1967, and Soviet official support for the former, was undoubtedly a highly significant factor in provoking a resurgence of Jewish nationalism and a desire to emigrate to Israel. Both responses were reinforced by officially and unofficially inspired manifestations of long established anti-semitism in areas of high Jewish population density.

The very success of the Jews in establishing a degree of right to emigration and to a reaffirmation of national identity has, in its turn, provided example and succour to the similar cause of the Baltic Germans. The latter have indeed adopted many of the tactics of the Jewish emigration in asserting their claims (30).

It is, however, Georgia which has provided one of the most curious inspirations for national consciousness. Travellers on the Georgian Military Highway, over the Caucasus from the Russian republic, are greeted at the border with the slogan 'Glory to the Great Stalin', painted on the roadside walls. The furtive sale of photographs of the old dictator and his family is also a reminder of Georgian pride in a compatriot who, whatever else, was master over the Russians.

Finally, consideration must be given to the impact of all this minority

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(27) See K. Matchett: Recent Events in the Lithuanian Catholic Church, in *Religion in Communist Lands,* London, Vol. 1, No. 1, January - February 1973; The Voice of the Lithuanian Catholics, in *Religion in Communist Lands,* Vol. 1, Nos. 4 - 5, July to October 1973; B. R. Bociurkiw: *Religious Dissent in the USSR – Lithuanian Catholics,* Paper to the International Conference of Slavists, Banff, September 1974; and *Religion und Atheismus in der UdSSR,* Munich, 7(81), July 1974, 9 - 10 (83 - 84), September – October 1974, 2(89) February 1975.

(28) See e. g. the samizdat article V. Moroz: A Chronicle of Resistance, published in Moroz: *Report from the Beria Reserve – the protest writings of Valentyn Moroz,* Cararact Press, Chicago, 1974, pp. 55 - 84.

(29) See *Religiya i Ateizm v SSSR,* Munich, No. 3 (65), March 1973, pp. 6 - 11; and the article on the death of Bidya Dandaron, in *The Observer,* London, 1 December, 1974.

(30) See e.g. *Der Spiegel,* Munich, No. 14, 1 April, 1974, p. 16.

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nationalist activity on the Russians themselves. The apparent ingratitude of the 'liberated' peoples has indeed evoked not merely resignation, despair or indifference, but a more active and avowedly nationalist response of own. This has expressed itself both in the best known manifesto of the Russian nationalist elements, *Slovo natsii*, (31) and in the cry from the heart voiced in Vladimir Osipov's samizdat journal *Veche,* bemoaning the fact that, "We (the Russians) have been humiliated, and deceived, firstly because nothing Russian remains under the label 'Russian': neither the language, nor the culture, religion and traditions. We are carrying a yoke which is neither ours nor from us, which strangles and rapes us, and it is for this yoke that we are reproached and insulted as if it were our national sin." Clearly the new and officially-sought national identity implied by the concept of the Soviet people has proved disagreeable to some elements of the very nation which has been most prominent in espousing the cause.

In view of this rather extensive range of factors at work in the background, it is scarcely a matter of any surprise that national consciousness and pride in the ethnic heritage has remained a powerful force within the Soviet Union. Minority, and even majority, nationalism, while perhaps not quite the all-embracing ideological alternative to communism in the same way that religion is often claimed to be, nevertheless presents a serious and resilient challenge to the official position on the nationality question. The officially inspired 'growing together' of nations has consistently had as its corollary the reaffirmation of national identity and separateness, if only in an attempt by the minorities to prevent the disappearance of their cultural inheritance. While many of their grievances persist, and are reinforced by a variety of official sanctions and manoeuvres, nationalism will remain a force to be counted with in the Soviet Union.

(31) See translation of the text in *Survey*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1971, pp. 191 - 9.

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GUIDED HUMAN EVOLUTION: A NEW CHALLENGE TO SOCIAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

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The spectacular progress made in modern genetics has convinced some thoughtful scientists that we are on the threshold of a new era in which man will be able to control his genetic future. Man will be able to deliberately modify and presumably improve his genetic makeup in much the same manner that he has altered wild species of plants and animals to suit his needs and whims. The prospect of man designing his own future has been widely popularized in newspapers and magazine articles. Some of the statements in the popular press have led the public to expect a complete reconstruction of the human body and personality. Several journal accounts have been accompanied by sensational pictures of new kinds of people, as if to intimate that we will be shortly writing prescriptions for any kind of person we crave. Some of the vivid portrayals include a new breed of astronaut, legless for efficiency on long space voyages; a four-legged human variety with protruding eyes, who would be eminently suitable for high-pressure areas of outer space; and men with prehensile feet that would enable them to cling to planets with low gravitational pull.

One of the more startling possibilities is that of producing exact copies, or genetic replicas, of a human being from a single parent. An individual may be able to confer immortality on himself simply by giving up a few of his body cells. In other words, a person in one generation can prepare an additional copy of himself for another trial in the next generation. This would be accomplished by implanting the nucleus of a body cell of that person into a freshly obtained, enucleated human egg. The resulting new offspring is, in reality, not an offspring; he is his own parent reincarnated in new cytoplasm.

Extravagant claims of the popular press serve only to contribute to an already distorted public view of the aspirations and accomplishments of scientists. Sensational pronouncements have greater news value than sober statements of fact, and for this reason news concerning science and technology often appears in an exaggerated form. Actually, most geneticists have restrained thoughts concerning the possibility of the deliberate and controlled modification of our genetic makeup. Clearly, before we evaluate

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objectively the prospects for modifying the genes of man, we must first define the basic problem that faces us, at least as understood by contemporary geneticists. Very simply stated, the concern of contemporary geneticists is the marked increase in the incidence of harmful genes responsible for serious hereditary defects. Harmful, or detrimental, genes are accumulating in the human population at a great rate. The paramount concern, then, is that the human species is deteriorating genetically. Is there a valid basis for this concern?

Hospital records in widely scattered parts of the world reveal that approximately two percent of all infants born alive suffer serious disorders. Stated another way, two babies in 100 are born with defects so serious, either physically or mentally, that the infant either dies or is severely handicapped. In the United States alone, 250,000 infants are delivered each year with significant birth defects. Although not all birth defects have a genetic origin, the proportion of genetically determined abnormalities is high.

The incidence of birth defects varies widely in different ethnic groups. Spina bifida, in which the spine fails to close over and a gap is left in the spinal column, occurs at least twice as often in Caucasians as in Negroes and twelve times as often as in Japanese. On the other hand, polydactyly is seven times more frequent in Negroes than in Caucasians. Tay-Sachs disease is almost confined to Jewish communities, and harelip and cleft palate occur more frequently in Japan than in any other country. The reason for these irregularly distributed incidences is still obscure.

The age of the expectant mother has a decided bearing on the occurrence of certain congenital malformations. The incidence of hydrocephaly and Down's syndrome (mongolism) increases markedly with advancing age. Women above 35 years of age are eight times more apt to have a child afflicted with Down's syndrome than women under 25. In other congenital deformities, such as cleft palate and spina bifida, there is no evidence of association with the age of the mother.

More than one-third of the malformed babies exhibit defects of the brain and spinal cord. One of the more frequent malformations is hydrocephaly, a condition in which the head of the infant is greatly enlarged because of excess fluid in the brain cavities. Defects at birth that doom the infant to an early death or a lifetime of illness take an enormous toll of human life and human potential. No statistics, however, speak for the psychological trauma suffered by the parents. The rearing of a deformed child – such as a child affected with phenylketonuria – imposes an emotional crisis on the parents to which adjustment is slow and agonizing. Phenylketonuric individuals

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generally are mentally retarded, usually so severely that they are institutionalized. It is difficult to overcome the deep anxieties and feelings of guilt or shame experienced by the parents. In our affluent society, birth defects still loom as one of man's serious problems.

The statistics I have cited are based on live births, and give no indication of the number of deformed embryos lost through spontaneous abortions early in pregnancy. Recent estimates indicate that one in 10 pregnancies terminate in miscarriage. Moreover, many anomalies are not noticeable at birth. Some manifest themselves during the first year after birth; others appear only after many years. An obstruction of the intestinal tract, known as pyloric stenosis, develops in the neonatal period, between the third and seventh week after birth. The inherited degenerative disease of the nervous system, known as Huntington's chorea, first reveals itself in persons in their late thirties. When we group together the figures reported for spontaneous abortions and stillbirths, the malformations present in infants at birth, and the deformities that do not become manifest until later life, the total or overall percentage of major deformities in humans is about 5 percent, or one in 20!

The incidence of malformations is not likely to decrease. In fact, as I expressed earlier, the frequency of detrimental genes is increasing. A careful consideration of a particular genetic disorder in man will be useful at this point. The inherited dominant abnormality, retinoblastoma, or cancer of the eye in newborn babies, has until recently been almost always a fatal condition. The malignant tumor arises in the retina of one or both eyes, and tends to spread by way of the optic nerve into the brain. Except for rare cases of spontaneous regression, untreated infants do not survive. The transmission of the dominant detrimental gene for retinoblastoma is opposed by natural selection. The operation of natural selection is here revealed in its most relentless form, inasmuch as the harmful dominant gene is generally eliminated before it can be passed on even once.

Since individuals with retinoblastoma have great mortality and very low fecundity, it might be expected that the detrimental gene would rapidly pass from existence, or at least steadily decrease from one generation to the next. Each failure of an affected person to transmit his defective gene would result each time in the loss of the defective gene from the population. Yet the gene for retinoblastoma has not decreased in frequency!

The factor that maintains the gene for retinoblastoma in the population is mutation. A mutation is a mishap in the normal copying process of the gene. New mutations arise from time to time, and the same mutations may

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occur repeatedly. In fact, all genes undergo mutation at some definable rate. In each generation, it can be expected that a certain proportion of normal genes will be converted into defective genes. Accordingly, while in every generation a large number of genes for retinoblastoma are lost from the population by the inability of the affected individuals to leave descendants, this same number is replaced by the process of mutation. As long as the rate of elimination of the gene for retinoblastoma equals its rate of origin by mutation, the incidence of this cancerous defect in the human population will not change. Such a population is said to be in genetic equilibrium with respect to the detrimental gene for retinoblastoma.

A simple analogy will help to illustrate the concept of genetic equilibrium. Picture a glass beaker or container, open at the top to permit water from a faucet to enter the beaker but with an outlet at the bottom that enables water to flow out. The water level in the beaker equals the rate at which it leaves the hole in the bottom of the beaker. The water flowing from the faucet into the beaker represents the inflow of newly mutated genes; the water escaping through the hole at the bottom represents the elimination of the harmful gene through the failure of reproduction of affected individuals. Thus, a constant water level in the beaker – that is, a state of genetic equilibrium – is reached when the rate at which the detrimental gene is replenished by mutation equals the rate at which the gene is lost by natural selection.

Some one hundred or more years ago, before we moved fully into our modern environment of public health, therapy, and radiation, the balance of mutated deleterious genes was probably at or close to equilibrium. Since then, at least two factors have contributed to disturbing the balance – for the worse. One change that has affected the genetic equilibrium is the increase in man-made radiation. Man today lives in an environment in which high energy radiation is assuredly not calculated to improve the human germ plasm. Genes are highly susceptible to the action of ionizing radiation. A higher incidence of mutations from high-energy radiation is comparable to an increased flow of faucet water into the beaker. The water level in the beaker will rise and water will escape more rapidly through the hole in the bottom of the beaker. Similarly, defective genes will be found more frequently in the population and will be eliminated at a faster rate from the population. A balance will be restored eventually between input and output; however, the population will then have a larger store of defective genes. Physicians in years to come will be called upon to treat a greater number of defective infants.

An even more serious threat to the genetic equilibrium is the saving of

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life through the greater medical control of genetic disorders. The outstanding advances in modern medicine have served to prolong the lives of genetically defective persons who might otherwise not have survived to reproductive age. This may be compared to partially plugging the hole in the bottom of the beaker, the effect of which is to reduce the rate of outflow of water. The water level in the beaker will obviously rise, as will the amount of defective genes in the population. That this circumstance has already occurred is dramatically exemplified by our recent medical control of retinoblastoma. Today, with proper surgical treatment, almost 80 percent of the individuals afflicted with retinoblastoma survive, become able to reproduce, and therefore can transmit the defect to their children (theoretically, half their children). There may be no loftier motive in society than to save lives by the application of medical knowledge. But the price of our humanitarian principles is the enlargement of our pool of harmful genes and a legacy of suffering for future generations as a result of an increased incidence of genetically malformed infants.

Let us make this point clear by another specific example. Cystic fibrosis is an inherited recessive disorder to the pancreas. One child in every thousand is born with this genetical disease. About 6,000 infants are born with the disease each year in the United States. Less than 35 years ago, cystic fibrosis was not even recognized as a distinct disease. Today it has the unenviable reputation of being one of the most devastating disorders of childhood. Intestinal obstruction is the first symptom of the disease. The pancreas of the infant produces a thick material that blocks digestion in the intestinal tract. The lungs also produce the sticky material; the lungs become clogged and the child has repeated bouts of pneumonia.

Before the introduction of antibiotics, affected children usually died in infancy of constant infection. Today, new drugs, inhaled a vapor, soften the thick mucus of the lungs and permit some children to weather the difficult first years. Indeed, some women suffering from cystic fibrosis have responded so well to the special treatment of drugs that they have now borne children of their own. All these children are outwardly normal. But, these outwardly healthy children carry the detrimental gene for cystic fibrosis and consequently the potential for perpetuating this affliction. As these children themselves approach child-bearing age, they must understand that their own babies might be affected with cystic fibrosis.

Evidently then, modern medicine, by finding ways to keep alive individuals who carry deleterious genes, encourages the survival of those who more than likely will pass on their defects to future generations. The conventional

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ethics of medicine is shaken when, with increasing knowledge, it becomes clear that to save the life of a child with a hereditary disorder is to ensure the retention and increase of detrimental genes that ordinarily would be kept at very low frequencies by natural selection. Should we continue indefinitely to load our population with hereditary disabilities?

Some geneticists have looked upon this situation with grave concern. In particular, the late Nobel laureate Hermann J. Muller was most distressed about the continual pollution of the human gene pool. Muller had been predicting genetic disaster since 1935, and throughout his career he was a persuasive and articulate prophet of doom. Muller presented the most vivid portrayal of the impending genetic disintegration of the human species. In the eventual and not too distant future, according to Muller, the task of taking care of genetically defective individuals will consume all the energy that society can mobilize. Most everyone will be an invalid. Muller's gloomy forecast was that the human species would end up with two types of individuals: one kind would be so genetically incapacitated as to be wheelchair patients, and the other kind would be somewhat less disabled but would spend all their time taking care of the first kind. It is unreasonable, Muller contended, to expect medicine to keep up with the problem especially because medical men themselves in that near or distant future will be subject to the same genetic decomposition. Eventually even the most sophisticated techniques available will no longer suffice to save men from their genetic deterioration. According to Muller, then, mankind is doomed unless positive steps are taken to regulate his genetic endowment.

Muller was convinced that in practice man would be unable to determine and agree upon the application of measures which would reduce the load of unfavorable genes. He suggested as a countermeasure, therefore, a program designed to increase significantly the number of favorable genes in the human population. Muller proposed a plan called *AID*, or "Artificial Insemination from Donors." He recommended the establishment of sperm banks, which would make available the sperm of highly qualified donors whose family histories showed the least possible likelihood of defects or abnormalities. To make sure of the eminence of the donors, the sperm would be frozen and made available only after 20 years or more, when the donor would no longer be alive, and posterity could judge dispassionately of his value. When a woman decided to have children, she would need only to choose sperm from the donor whose qualities she most admired. "How many women," Muller cried when he enunciated his plan, "would be eager and proud to bear and rear a child of Aldous Huxley or Charles Darwin!"

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A number of serious questions must be answered before employing artificial insemination on the grand scale that Muller proposed. In the present state of knowledge even the best of geneticists would disagree on who should be the donors. There is no guarantee that even the most distinguished donor would be free of hidden detrimental genes. As one scientist stated, "The trouble with Muller's sperm bank is that he's always having to take people out of it." One of his rejects, for example, is Abraham Lincoln, who is now suspected of having suffered from a genetic disorder called Marfan's syndrome. Patients with Marfan's syndrome have poor musculature, long, thin extremities, and heart defects.

More importantly, the participants would be asked to surrender their pride in generating their own biological children and substitute for this pride the greater satisfaction to be gained from the knowledge that the child has the best possible set of genes. Muller confidently expected the gradual emergence of a new superior form of self-esteem and gratification in contributing to the genetic improvement of the human species. It seems more likely, however, that many people would be reluctant to renounce their claim to having their own biological descendants, and volunteers might be difficult to find in substantial numbers.

I wish now to bring under serious scrutiny the suggestion that humans be propagated by cloning. The possibility of producing exact copies, or replicas, of a person stems from studies performed on the frog. Specifically, a nucleus from an embryonic cell of a frog can be implanted, or transplanted, into an unfertilized egg whose own nucleus had previously been experimentally destroyed or eliminated. The transplanted nucleus can promote normal development of an enucleated egg, thereby bypassing the usual process of fertilization of egg by sperm. This process may be repeated to produce several genetically identical individuals, or technically, a *clone*. Thus, an early embryonic cell, not merely the sperm and egg, contains all the genetic information to create a new individual. The procedures for the successful transplantation of a body cell into a human egg have yet to be perfected.

Many embryologists dismiss the possible application of the nuclear transplant technique to man as the blue-sky rambling of a handful of imaginative scientists and flamboyant journalists. The Oxford University embryologist J.B. Gordon stresses the technical difficulties of manipulating the human egg, which is about one-twelfth the size of the frog's egg. Moreover, even if the enucleation of the human egg were to become a reality, such technical mastery would not be sufficient reason to attempt to clone a human. Even under the most optimum conditions, an appreciable number of the nuclear-

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transplant frog embryos are grossly abnormal. There is no basis for being more optimistic about the outcome in human clones.

Several scientists, particularly geneticists, have proposed that cloning be introduced into the human population as a means of preserving or perpetuating favorable genes. Joshua Lederberg, a geneticist at Stanford University, has proposed that we should replicate already existing men and women who have proven themselves outstanding in intellectual and cultural endeavors. If a superior individual can be identified, why not, Lederberg states, copy it directly rather than suffer the risk that the favorable arrangement of genes will be disrupted by the normal process of biparental reproduction. However our state of knowledge, at least at present, almost demands that embryonic cells be used as the source of donor nuclei rather than adult cells. Since the potential of an individual in the embryonic state cannot be gauged, we would have to resort to placing a few embryonic cells of all individuals – or of individuals selected from generally healthy families – in cold storage, and holding out to each of such individuals the flattering (or grim) prospect that his or her cells might be cloned in later life.

However laudable the desire to improve the genetic makeup of mankind, most scientists have restrained thoughts concerning any first attempt to clone a man. Lederberg himself recognizes the unavoidable hazards involved in the experimental procedure of cloning. "What to do with the mishaps," he writes, "needs to be answered before we can undertake these risks in the fabrication of humans." In the eyes of many of those who oppose research in this direction, the dual issues of the production and disposition of deformed cloned embryos provide sufficient ethical grounds for resisting or rejecting any endeavor to produce human clones.

Let us now turn to the prospects for genetic surgery – that is, the experimental conversion of the harmful gene to its normal form. The riddle of the structure of the gene has essentially been solved. We now know that the genetic substance of the chromosome is composed of extremely long molecules of deoxyribonucleic acid, or in abbreviated form, the now famous DNA. According to the widely accepted Watson-Crick model, the DNA molecule consists of two parallel strands, twisted around each other some-steps are composed of pairs of specific nitrogenous bases. We now say that a gene is a linear sequence of several hundred bases, which directs the synthesis of proteins of the body.

The artificial synthesis of a small gene of specific base sequence was accomplished in June 1970 by the biochemist Khorana and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin. They painstakingly assembled a single gene from

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relatively simple laboratory chemicals containing carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and phosphorus. The gene specifies the production of a large molecule in the cytoplasm of yeast cells. The artificially synthesized gene is relatively simple, containing only 77 pairs of bases. While the chemical synthesis of a human gene appears to be a formidable task, it most likely will be accomplished in the near future.

Contemporary work with animal viruses suggests that certain viruses are capable of introducing genetic information into human cells. For example, when human cells in tissue culture are infected with the SV40 virus of monkeys, specific DNA sequences of the virus become integrated into the chromosomal DNA of the human cell. This suggests the possibility of "engineering" the viral DNA – that is, artificially modifying the virus so that it carries a DNA sequence that codes for a particular protein. Thus, it may be possible to attach to the viral DNA a sequence of bases that specifies, for example, the production of the enzyme phenylalanine hydroxylase. The "carrier' virus can then be introduced into an infant afflicted with phenylketonuria, with the expectation that the tailor-made virus would promote production of the enzyme that has been errant in the patient. Ideally, the virus should be inserted only in liver cells, which are the only cells in the body that normally exhibit phenylalanine hydroxylase activity. Uncertainty exists about how the "carrier" virus would express itself in other cells. A disquieting aspect is that the newly integrated virus might transform the cell's behavior to the extent that the cell becomes malignant, or cancerous.

In October of 1971, in an investigation that has been hailed as revolutionary, Dr. Carl Merril and his associates at the National Institute of Health transplanted the genes of a virus into living human tissue in culture. These investigators took advantage of a particular virus (lambda) whose DNA contains a cluster of genes, previously obtained from a bacterial cell, that controls the production of a galactose-metabolizing enzyme. With this galactose-metabolizing virus, they infected human fibroblast cells taken from a patient suffering from a hereditary disease known as galactosemia. Victims of galactosemia are unable to produce the essential enzyme that enables the body to metabolize galactose, a simple sugar found in milk and other dairy products. The remarkable finding was that the virus instructed the human cells to manufacture the galactose-metabolizing enzyme that is missing in the defective cells. These experiments have been performed in the artificial *in vitro* environment of a tissue culture system; the techniques have yet to be successfully applied to *in vivo* systems.

In spite of these important new findings, it should be emphasized that

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the externally supplied genetic material benefits only those defective cells that have incorporated the externally supplied gene. Improving the body cells in this manner without altering the germ cells does not prevent transmission of the hereditary defect. A positive genetic effect will occur only if the correction of the gene can be made in the germ cells — the egg cell and the sperm cell. The means of genetically manipulating the gametes are not in sight.

It should also be clear that the traits we have thus far considered are sharply differentiated and are governed essentially by single gene determiners. There are, however, many characteristics in man that cannot be classified into two discrete, alternative classes but show a great range of variation and many gradations between the extremes. These are the measurable or *quantitative* characters, such as certain physical attributes, like height and weight, and mental capacities, expressed as intelligence. Quantitative characters result from the action and interaction of many genes, or *polygenes*. Man undoubtedly has numerous polygenes for each quantitative trait. The improvement of a quantitative trait would certainly necessitate the transfer of large, if not many, sequences of the DNA molecule. The replacement of large sections of DNA, particularly in a controlled manner, is difficult to imagine in the immediate, or even foreseeable, future.

It should be apparent that, at the present time, the outlook for genetic surgery is not bright. What, then, is the answer to overcoming, or at least forestalling, the genetic deterioration of man? There is emerging at present an approach that is generally socially acceptable and completely voluntary. This approach is that of counseling individuals and families so that they can avoid the disastrous occurrence of genetic disorders. Genetic counseling centers in hospitals, clinics, and medical schools across the United States are already helping parents. At a symposium sponsored recently by the National Foundation March of Dimes it was announced that the number of counseling centers has grown from 20 in 1955 to well over 200 today.

It is axiomatic that the vast majority of harmful genes are carried by heterozygotes. Heterozygous individuals are those who carry the defective gene but are themselves unaffected by the harmful gene. Heterozygous individuals are not as rare as might be supposed. Indeed, the frequency of heterozygous carriers is many times greater than that of homozygous individuals afflicted with a trait. Thus, an extremely rare disorder, like alkaptonuria (indicated by blackening of urine), occurs in 1 in one million persons. This detrimental gene, however, is carried in the hidden state by 1 out of 500 persons. There are 2,000 as many genetic carriers of alkaptonuria as

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there are individuals afflicted with this defect. For another recessive trait, cystic fibrosis, one out of 1,000 individuals is victimized by this homozygous trait. It may be thought that most affected children come from marriages of two affected individuals. This is not true. The great majority of affected children – more than 99 percent – come from marriages of two normal parents, both of whom are heterozygous carriers. One of 16 persons is a carrier of cystic fibrosis.

The implications are clear. A successful genetic counseling program requires two important ingredients. First, there must be a simple, inexpensive means of detecting heterozygous carriers of inherited disorders. Secondly, there must be a means of diagnosing the disorder in the fetus of the expectant mother. Both these conditions have already been satisfied with respect to certain disorders. We may consider the recessively inherited condition known as Tay-Sachs disease. Affected infants appear normal and healthy at birth, but within six months the nerves of the brain and spinal cord exhibit marked signs of deterioration. The child becomes mentally retarded, progressively blind, and finally paralyzed. The disease takes its lethal toll by the age of three to four years. There are no known survivors and no known cure. Today, the heterozygous carriers of Tay-Sachs disease can be identified. Individuals suffering from the disease lack a specific enzyme in their blood (hexosaminidase); in carriers, the amount of enzyme is intermediate between levels found in normal persons and affected persons. If both parents are identified as carriers, they can be informed that the risk of a defective child is one in four.

Moreover, the technique of transabdominal amniocentesis has become an important tool in the prenatal detection of certain hereditary disorders. The technique consists of inserting a hypodermic needle into the uterine cavity of the expectant mother, and withdrawing a small sample of amniotic fluid. The procedure is typically performed at 16 weeks' gestation, but can be done successfully at 14 weeks' gestation. The cells in the amniotic fluid are examined both biochemically and chromosomally. The amniotic-fluid cells are of fetal origin, derived mainly from the fetal skin. In the case of Tay-Sachs disease, the amniotic cells can be analyzed for the presence – or absence – of the essential anzyme. Chromosome studies have been used in several cases where the possibility of Down's syndrome existed. Down's syndrome is the preferred medical term for mongolism. Down's syndrome is now known to be associated with mishaps or disturbances in the chromosomes. The afflicted infant has 47 chromosomes, or one chromosome more than the normal number of 46. This chromosome abnormality can be detected in the

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amniotic cell cultures, and therapeutic abortions can be performed. Using amniocentesis, Dr. Henry Nadler, the Northwestern University pediatrician, diagnosed Down's syndrome in 10 of 155 high-risk pregnancies. Subsequent examination of the 10 aborted fetuses showed the diagnosis to be correct in all cases.

Different ethical attitudes may be expected concerning the early interruption of pregnancy. Human life is sacred, yet the human suffering associated with an unmanageable genetic disorder is so great that the avoidance of the birth of an incurably afflicted infant may be the most acceptable and humane solution. As expressed by Joseph Dancis of New York University, the "right to be born" is becoming qualified by another right: *The right of the infant to have a reasonable chance of a happy and useful life.* In the years to come, many couples may desire to plan children only on the condition that the expectant mother will be offered screening of the embryo and the termination of pregnancy if the unborn infant is demonstrably abnormal. In essence, in some countries the decision to abort a defective fetus may ultimately become the private judgment of the parents. This point of view is disconcerting to those who believe that parents should not have the final or sole responsibility of choice for the quality of their offspring.

It remains to be seen how different governments will respond to the social, moral, and legal issues raised by the new capabilities in medical science. An awe-inspiring accomplishment in recent years has been the successful fertilization of the human egg by sperm in laboratory glassware, or technically, *in vitro*. In the late 1960s, the developmental physiologist Robert Edwards, at the University of Cambridge in England, sought the means of obtaining a mature egg directly from the ovary of a female just prior to ovulation. At the suggestion of his clinician colleague, Dr. Patrick Steptoe, a surgical technique called laparoscopy was modified to extract the preovulatory egg. A clear view of the ovary is obtained with a slender illuminated telescope, or laparoscope, which is inserted through a small incision made in the abdominal wall. A specially designed hypodermic needle is then passed through a second slit in the abdomen, and the egg is aspirated.

Concern has been voiced that the implantation of a laboratory-grown embryo involves far too great a risk. One cannot assess or predict whether or not the resulting infant – if it should survive – would be deformed because of the experimental manipulations. However, it may be argued that all new medical technologies are risky. In any new and dramatic technological procedure, the searching questions that invariably arise are: *can* man, *will* man, and *should* man? Edwards believes that we should attempt artificial

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implantation in a human recipient.

Some societies may come to accept the idea of artificial implantation, especially when the egg and sperm are furnished by the wife and husband. The more thorny problem arises when one contemplates the possible use of either egg or sperm, or both, from strange donors. It is of particular interest that society today sanctions the adoption of postnatal children. In fact, the adoptive parents rarely have knowledge of the true, or biological, mother and father of the adopted child, and of the genetic qualities of such children, especially where the child is illegitimate. Essentially, then, only one new feature is introduced by the new medical technologies – the earlier age of the child to be adopted. With the situation viewed in this manner, a couple, rather than adopt a grown child, may choose to accept an early blastocyst that could grow in the woman's womb.

The last two decades have seen a surge of scientific knowledge and technological advances that few could have foreseen or have dared to prophesy. Equally, we can be sure that the next two decades will contain surprises that promise to strain existing ethical, cultural and technical fabrics. This evinces either a tragic sense of despair that man can become lost in his own machinations, or a sober realization that man has the capabilities to manage constructively his own destiny. In either case, the decisions made by future governments in different countries will profoundly affect the destinies of the nations over which they rule.

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By Roger Pearson

This general introductory text surveys all the major areas of anthropological inquiry: paleontology, physical anthropology, primatology, archeology, ethnology, and general cultural anthropology.

The story of man is revealed as the product first of biological then of social and cultural responses to ecological influences from the earliest beginnings of life through the growth of civilization, up to the interconnected urban world of today.

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This elaborately produced two-color book contains more than 200 photographs as well as 64 maps and charts, all of which clarify and enhance the text.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOYSON, RHODES (editor)
1985: An Escape From Orwell's 1984
London, Churchill Press, 146 pp., $2.20 (paper), 1975

Dr. Rhodes Boyson, M.P., a former headmaster and now deputy shadow minister of education, has assembled a noteworthy collection of timely essays by some of those Britons who have not yet given up on an island which was once the principal defender of freedom in the world.

The theme of this book is that there is till time to avoid a 1984 world in Great Britain if only those who still believe in a free market economy and in the traditional values which once made Britain a model for the world will exert all their efforts to oppose the tide of socialism at home and defeatism abroad.

Professor A.A. Walters, a leading monetarist economist, leads off with a chapter explaining why inflation is not the fault of greedy businessmen or voracious unions or Arab oilmen (as governments would like us to believe) but is, in fact, primarily the fault of the excessive use of the printing press by governments themselves.

Ralph Harris, a former economics don at St Andrews (perhaps the most liberal, in the true sense of the term, of the world's leading universities) went on to direct the respected Institute of Economic Affaris in London. Writing from the standpoint of that bulwark to the market economy, Mr. Harris explains cogently how competition will lead to a more prosperous nation with greater equality of opportunity for all.

Russell Lewis, an economist and journalist (author of *The New Service Society*) exposes the actual results of nationalisation and shows how the trend to state-ownership can be reversed.

Arthur Shenfield, another economist (and barrister) and recent President of the Mont Pelerin Society (the international association of classical liberal scholars) tells us how the trade unions can and should be brought under the rule of law.

Arthur Seldon (the other half of "the double-ax" of Harris and Seldon

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at the IEA) demonstrates persuasively that the majority of working class people would like to have more control over how their money is spent and would like to replace a paternalistic welfare state with a more consumer-oriented one.

Alfred Sherman, a mainstay of the Center for Policy Studies in London, puts forward a conservative policy for housing and the editor, Dr. Boyson, shows us how educational standards can be raised and the amount of choice in schools increased.

The political editor of the *Spectator* and author of *Churchill at War*, Dr. Patrick Cosgrave, contributes an essay on the value and importance of patriotism to society.

The author of *The Power of Parliament*, political columnist Ronald Butt, asserts that the Conservative Party should not forget the old rule: "Trust the People."

W.F. Deedes, a former M. P. now editor the *Daily Telegraph*, argues for the freedom to be safe in the simple act of walking down one's street . . . a freedom very dear to everyone but one not much talked about among intellectuals.

The foreign editor of *The Economist*, Robert Moss, addresses himself to the growth of Communist influence in the Labor Party and the trade unions, and T.E. Utley, a scholarly editorial writer for the *Daily Telegraph*, puts the case for Britain's peace-keeping role in Ulster.

A young writer, Philip Vander Elst, concludes the book with a withering examination of the way the "Socialist" leaders behave in their daily lives. Most of the Labor Cabinet, it turns out, have demanded private rooms for themselves whenever they have needed medical care, though they profess to regard this favoritism as anti-social and elitist when indulged in by other ordinary citizens.

The collection as a whole makes a sparkling and informative book. Although of special interest to British readers, the lessons and morals it draws are of inescapable importance to people all over the world who would like to have more freedom for themselves and less dependence upon the growing power of the State. Dr. Boyson has given us all a handbook for survival in the age of Leviathan.

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THOMPSON, KENNETH W.
Understanding World Politics
Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 234 pp., $11.95. 1975.

One of America's most distinguished students of international affairs, Professor Thompson has given us an invaluable primer to that often confusing subject.

Mr. Thompson is concerned with morality in statecraft but he is first and foremost a realist and he writes from that point in view. He tells us that "Realism in the broader sense of a marriage of practical necessity and practical morality holds out far greater hope than moralism, cynicism, pragmatism, or realism alone."

He analyzes from this philosophical base, the problem of national interest, nationalism, individualism, elitism, the role of scholarship in forming foreign policy, idealism, ideologies, and the dangers of nuclear war among other issues. He divides his book into three main sections: "The World and the Nation: Problems and Prospects", "Education: Understanding the World," and "Politics and International Politics: The Search for a Theoretical Framework."

Readers of Mr. Thompson's introductory text in world affairs will find it a refreshing change from most of the handwringing nonsense so often inflicted in colleges on the younger generation.

THOMPSON, SIR ROBERT
Peace is Not at Hand: The American Position in the Post Vietnam World and the Strategic Weakening of the West
New York, David McKay C., 208 pp., $7.95, 1974.

General Sir Robert Thompson, an outstanding British soldier who was instrumental in the successful war against Communist guerrillas in Malaysia, has written a most useful book on the consequences for the free world of the failure of American policy in Vietnam.

Although writing before the ultimate collapse, Sir Robert devotes his considerable analytical talents to showing exactly how America and her allies

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will suffer if American resolve in Southeast Asia should weaken (as, of course, if has).

He asks if past sacrifices by the United States in that area (and by extension in other regions where American interests are at stake) may not be considered enough. He answers his question by saying "That is not a question that should ever be put by any Christian, parent, friend or ally."

Every American concerned with the future of our foreign policy should read this book – written by a sincere friend – who tells us bluntly where we have gone wrong.

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